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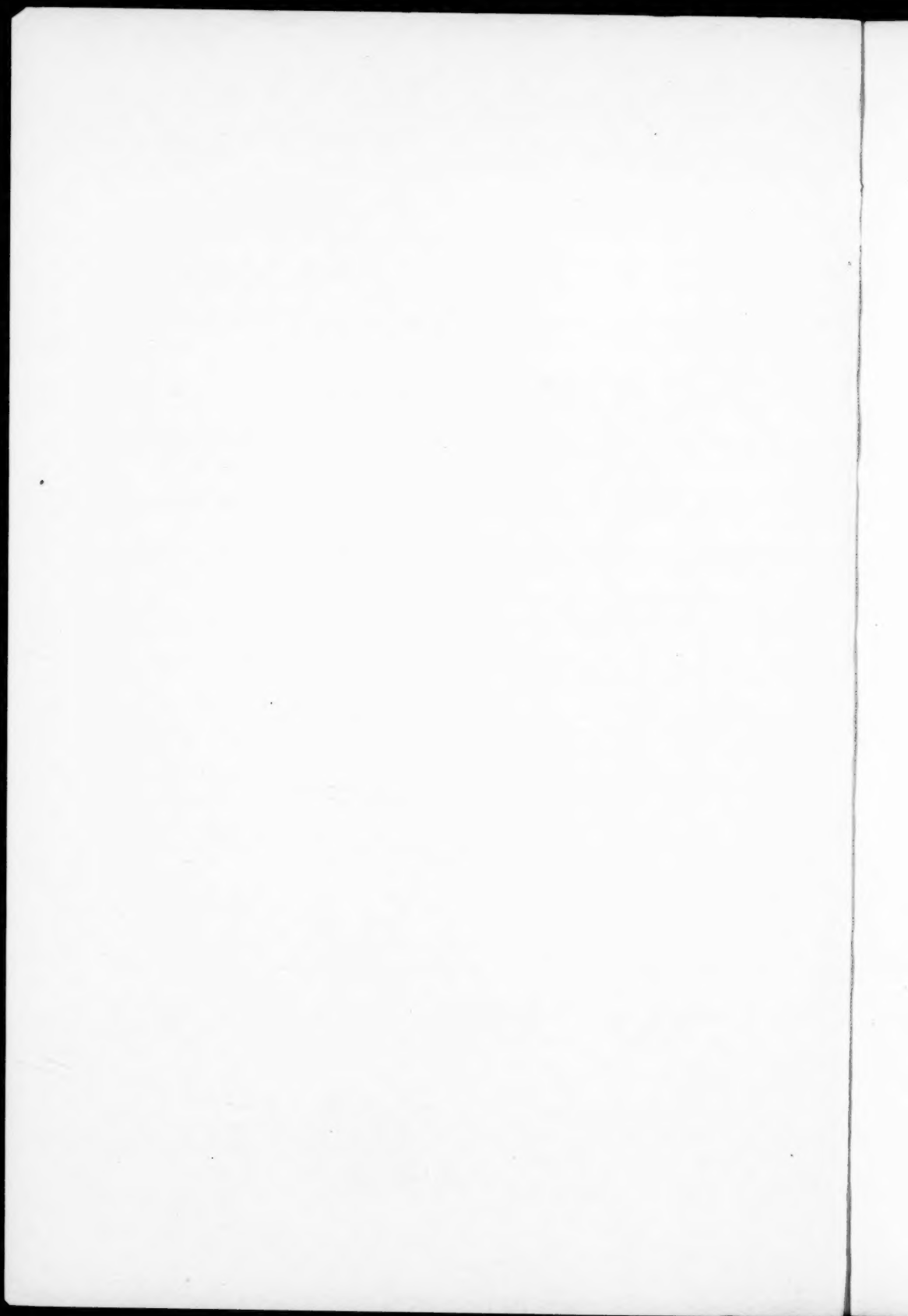
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## THE SHORT THERAPIES — AN EVALUATION

HAROLD KELMAN \*

A NUMBER of techniques—surgical, mechanical, pharmacological, and psychological—when used alone or in combination with psychotherapy, have been termed short, shortened, or short-cut, brief, briefer or abbreviated psychotherapy. The main mechanical therapy is electro-shock. Among the pharmacological therapies are metrazol and insulin shock, prolonged narcosis, narcoanalysis, narcohypnosis, and narcosynthesis. Leucotomy or lobotomy is the main surgical procedure also called psychosurgery. The commonest psychological short-cut method is hypnoanalysis.

### GOALS OF SHORT THERAPIES

The literature states or implies: that the period of psychotherapy will be shortened through the use of one of the above technical procedures and the same or an equivalent result will be obtained; that the use of such techniques makes possible the cure or alleviation of certain mental disturbances with which psychotherapy had previously failed; and that such techniques alone may bring about an equal or better result than psychotherapy and in an equal or shorter time.

The goals of the short therapists are symptom improvement in the shortest possible time with the greatest number of people. In support of their position, they state

or imply that symptoms insist on attention; that symptom relief is better than no relief; that many people urgently need help and therefore expedient measures are warranted; that many people getting some treatment is better than many getting none; and that even life endangering measures as last resorts are justified where all else, which a short therapist would use, has failed.

With the short therapists' desires to shorten the period of therapy, to treat as many people as possible and to make use of all available techniques to attain those goals we would agree, but with many of their other premises and allegations we would not. Furthermore, we believe that the whole concept of short therapy is not only unnecessary but also dangerous to the patient, his family, the psychiatrist, and the future of psychiatry. It is unnecessary because it has always been the spirit of medical practice to shorten the period of illness and the spirit of medical investigation to find and experiment with ways of attaining that brevity. It is unnecessary because the concept of limited objectives is an old one in all medical practice and limited objectives are the goals of the short therapists although they are using different names.

The limited objective might be a short period of therapy, a decision arrived at by the analyst or patient or both due to the

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factors of time, distance, money, or external circumstances. A patient might want help only with one particular emotional or practical problem. The objective might be to give human support through a trying period as during a divorce, or following the death of a family member. All of these might take a short time but we would not find it necessary to dignify them with the special terms of abbreviated or short-cut psychotherapy.

### DANGERS OF SHORT THERAPIES

The dangers inherent in the concepts of the short therapies derive mainly from the spirit in which all concerned are compulsively driven to seek and apply them. One attitude is that there should, there ought, there must be shorter methods of psychiatric help. The arguments of urgency, expediency and numbers, of time, distance and money and of an insistent demand for relief from psychic pain by whatever means, are used to justify such wishes. Such a spirit mars the possibility of a scientific objectivity in finding better ways of psychiatric help and assessing objectively the results of new found methods. It leads to an exaggeration of the values obtained; an overlooking of other values not directly sought for or of possible dangers inherent in the method itself; an exaggerated emphasis on numbers; an overemphasis on speed and results of an obvious symptom nature; and finally it leads to a sick human being becoming an impersonal object to be run through an assembly line procedure.

What are the specific dangers to the public at large? Newspapers and magazines give the impression that miracles are being performed and that the mentally ill are being well taken care of. Mental therapy is presented as something quick, simple and dramatic. Its difficulties and intricacies are omitted. As a result the public interest and private funds are not forthcoming to encourage and support real psychiatric advances. A false feeling of security causes the public to allow the situation to deteriorate. When an expose confronts them with the real situation, and particularly when it strikes them personally, they are filled with

righteous indignation and confusion.

Not only public but family and individual irresponsibility are encouraged by an erroneous presentation of what so-called short therapies can offer. The family, when one of its members becomes mentally ill, feel it their responsibility to get him or her into the proper hands; i.e. the miracle maker. They may include in their responsibility the exact prescription of the type of treatment to be performed and will even impoverish themselves to pay for it. They also may feel it as their responsibility to put pressure on the first person consulted or any number thereafter until someone will agree with their diagnosis and treatment. Having done all they felt it their responsibility to do, they must either exaggerate the results obtained or feel chagrined and confused that they have fallen so far short of what was expected. Either they may blame those whom they felt had misrepresented or they may berate themselves in the belief that they did not do all they could or should.

What should they have done? If a psychiatrist had informed them of the limitations of any of the short therapies and had outlined a program of treatment in which they had a share as supporting and understanding human beings, and they had not followed it, then they would have failed in their responsibility. Some will heed such advice and be willing and anxious to see where they had erred or been lacking in the past in order to aid in the future. All too often such advice is rejected, and understandably so, since the public has been educated to expect something different, its hopes having been erroneously inflated.

Such unrealistic promises also foster an irresponsible attitude in the patient. He comes to the therapist to have something done for him and to him. This is a paraphrase of what one patient said: "If I get too upset, I'll go and get another series of shock treatments and that will fix me up again. In between let the family put up with my moods." This patient was very averse to any therapy which involved effort and self-examination on his part. Such aversions are among the commonest reasons for patients seeking a short-cut thera-

py. What they get is some kind of therapy in a short time. They may seduce themselves into believing they received a completed cure telescoped into a brief interval. Either they wear their results as a badge and parade themselves as a successful cure or they feel bewildered because they are still so emotionally disturbed while they were supposed to have been cured. The patient's belief in magic and his expectations of getting something for nothing or at a bargain are encouraged by the promises of the short therapies and hence they attract him. Many keep trying one type of short therapy after another. An underlying hopelessness about doing anything for themselves which made a short therapy initially so attractive to them, has now been reinforced by repeated failures, by what they wanted to and were encouraged to believe was a therapy which would effect lasting changes.

The deleterious effect of the short-therapy concept on the psychiatrist is a serious one. Patients become objects to be added to a larger and larger sum of objects who were treated on an assembly line basis. The history and complaints are taken down by a social worker, or nurse, or office secretary on the required forms as are the follow-up findings. An imposing array of statistics can be gathered on how many were "cured," much improved, improved, or unimproved. That these numbers have become of dubious value for a number of reasons is lost sight of. Numbers cannot cancel out basic errors. A series of history and follow-up forms cannot substitute for the examination of a trained psychiatrist and the help he gives in an extended interpersonal situation, as obtains in psychoanalytic therapy. What is accepted as cured or improved becomes more and more superficial and limited. The whole investigative spirit becomes dulled, because we can only learn more and more about emotional problems and be stimulated to do so as we become more detailed in our studies and that takes time. Only by such studies can we develop a theory of human motivation that can explain more and more of what we observe in emotionally disturbed patients. Only by de-

tailed and painstaking studies involving the testing of our theory against our observations in daily work with patients can we improve and check our theory and develop better ways of using these findings for a better therapy.

The spirit inherent in such studies becomes lost to the short therapist and to the field of psychiatry in general. It is understandable that younger psychiatrists would not have the background and maturity to appreciate the value of these arduous and undramatic researches. The short therapies with their drama and quick results are understandably more attractive to them, also because of their eagerness and their uncertainty regarding their competence. Such a fascination could be detrimental to their development as well-rounded therapists who might have added to our fund of knowledge.

It is my feeling that this exaggerated interest in numbers, techniques, and quick results stems from and engenders feelings of hopelessness about the values and possibilities through human help. Needs for appearing omnipotent to allay feelings of therapeutic impotence, a lack of knowledge regarding the complexities of emotional disturbances, and, at times, sheer opportunism may be the impelling motivations. Since we feel that mental illness is due to a failure to develop good relationships with oneself and others, it would follow that better therapy would derive from a more thorough knowledge of the driving forces in the individual in relation to himself and others and in better ways of communicating that knowledge. It would seem that the atmosphere most suited to the imparting of that knowledge would be one of conscious awareness, mutual participation and in the setting of an interpersonal situation. None of these requirements obtain with the mechanical, pharmacological, or surgical therapies or in hypnoanalysis. The flight into short-cuts turns back the clock of psychiatric advance. The patient has now become an object, possessed instead of by demons, by emotional problems, which must be cut out or exorcized. It remains to be proven whether in the long run and in the short, many more patients

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would not have been helped and to a more solid understanding of themselves if all the time, energy, money, and interest directed to the short-cut therapies had been put into the painstaking investigations which are possible with psychoanalytic tools and into the training of more and better psychoanalysts.

### CRITERIA FOR "CURE"

Most of the literature on the short-cut therapies is rather vague and unsystematic when it comes to defining what they mean by "cure," much improved, improved, or unimproved. Sometimes by cure is meant social remission, at others that the most flagrant manifestations of the well-known psychiatric syndromes have been ameliorated. When patients become as they were before they manifested obvious symptoms they are considered as socially adjusted or normal. This is symptom treatment.

When the reports are by psychoanalysts, they are usually in Freudian terminology making an evaluation of their results in comparison with our own more difficult. In the first place, Freudians might exclude many from analysis or other form of therapy because they were too old, too narcissistic, too masochistic, too infantile, or their id instincts were too strong. Homosexuals might be told to accept their homosexuality and adjust to it. They start then with a selected group which should enhance the possibility of more frequent significant results. What would they consider as a successful therapeutic result? Again it is the symptom removal. In theoretical terms their aim is to make possible better controls of the id instincts so that on the surface the patient looks comfortable but actually is conforming at a price.

In essence they would be interested in treating patients with obvious psychiatric syndromes. They number about 20 million in this country. We would be equally interested in helping the 110 million others who are also suffering but in less obvious ways. Freudians would not consider treating a well-adjusted person who in fact is a miserable but successful neurotic. He would be considered as the acme of normality and an excellent result of treatment. It would

not be possible for them to formulate such a concept as that of the successful neurotic. Here then we have a sharp contrast in definition of goals in therapy. In short, where they would leave off we would feel it essential to really begin. Our objective is not symptom removal nor becoming well adjusted. The latter is only a facsimile of being well integrated and is attained through a compulsive conformity to socially and personally impressed irrational demands at the price of being oneself.

Their goal of therapy is then the removal of symptoms. This is a finite, limited and pessimistic objective which concerns itself with peripheral, external symptom defense systems. You will shortly see how different are our goals, how vast the gap between what they call results and what we do, and how we concern ourselves with fundamental lasting change brought about by an understanding of the driving forces in the neurosis. Also our focus is not on the results but on the process of becoming better integrated and as we do so the symptoms disappear sooner or later. In a measure patients suffer because of these obvious symptom defenses but mainly from the neurotic character structure behind them and from the losses that come from not being themselves. We see the period of therapy not as an end in itself but as a phase of the patient's self-development during which he is helped to work on himself while acquiring the tools to continue with his own self-analysis after regular work has been interrupted.

We would not consider symptom disappearance as a criterion for terminating treatment but rather the arrival at the point at which a patient could continue working on his own. The following criteria are taken from Horney's writings and unpublished lectures. (1) (2) (3). To be specific, we would terminate regular sessions when we and the patient feel he can effectively work on his remaining problems. This would imply a real interest in seeing himself as he is and could be and not as he thinks he is or ought to be, as well as an ability to learn from experience. To have reached this stage, the strength of his idealized image should have



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become much weaker as well as the dictates of his "tyrannical shoulds" and his claims for special privileges. His neurotic pride and self-hatred must have become much less forceful. A significant lessening of externalization should have occurred as well as of his need for detachment. He should no longer be driven to find safety by orienting himself in an aggressive, compliant, or a detached way to others. In short, his hopelessness about himself should have been worked through to the point where he begins to have worth in his own eyes, a feeling of rights as an individual and a solid feeling of I, of a real me in his middle, so that he can now have a good relationship to himself and with others. These are indeed not only the clearest and most far-reaching goals in therapy yet formulated but also imply goals toward which we should aspire as ideals in living. These goals, as ideals, are the acquiring of a capacity to assume responsibility for ourselves and toward others; the achieving of an inner independence which includes the establishing of one's own hierarchy of values; the attaining of a spontaneity of feeling and becoming truly whole-hearted.

For a therapy to be considered as a psychotherapy for human emotional ills, it should operate with a consistent theory of human motivation which is premised on a philosophy of human values. That theory should be derived from and checked against the data obtained in working with patients in a state of conscious awareness and participation. A therapy should add to our knowledge of human psychopathology. That therapy should constantly, in part or in whole, validate or invalidate itself in practice. None of the short therapies as practiced to date can fulfill all of these criteria and most of them can fulfill none of them.

### PREFRONTAL LOBOTOMY

Prefrontal lobotomy or leucotomy, also referred to as psychosurgery, started out most cautiously and was attempted only on disturbed deteriorating psychotic patients. (4) Not as a short-cut cure or as a substitute for psychotherapy but only as a last

resort measure with the above described patients does lobotomy have a place, because it carries with it a 3½% mortality and an organic dementia of varying proportions in every case. But now lobotomy, a destructive surgical procedure, is being used with manic-depressive psychoses and psychoneuroses. Freeman and Watts, say, "Severe and intractable cases of psychoneurosis are the most promising material for leucotomy if they have failed under psychotherapy." The pertinent questions are: how well trained was the person who failed and did he operate with a true psychotherapy or a short-cut? Resorting to psychosurgery in such instances represents an end stage of therapeutic hopelessness regarding human help and not a scientific advance in psychiatry. Utilizing modern psychoanalytic theory and technique, we have had significant degrees of success with these so-called intractable patients without a 3½% mortality and without our patients paying the price of an organic dementia. Certainly it took us a long time when we first started working with these patients but with greater experience and better theory the time gets shorter. Not only do subsequent patients of similar type derive that benefit but such increased knowledge is helpful with all other types, more and less severe. Likewise the results obtained are fundamental and lasting. Also a therapeutic hopefulness is engendered in the patients and therapists. All of this is lost by short-cut methods.

### SHOCK THERAPIES

Experienced workers with the shock therapies have become more cautious about their values. (5) Pharmacological shock is produced by the use of metrazol (6) and insulin (7) and mechanical shock by an electric current. (8) In themselves these therapies may have real worth but it is admitted that improvement is commensurate with the amount of human attention patients received while being shocked and that their stay outside of a hospital was prolonged in proportion to the amount of subsequent psychotherapy they received. Many more patients leave the hospital in about half the time, but this value is more apparent than

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real because "shock therapy increases the frequency of readmission and thus raises the question of whether the time saved in the hospital at the first admission is not lost by the early readmission following therapy."

(9) In addition to the immediate dangers and complications of the treatment "it seems likely that shock therapy does produce deterioration and personality changes which may explain this increased readmission frequency." (9) It is clearly stated that shock therapy is no protection against remission in the manic-depressive psychoses. It is constantly emphasized that one of the main functions of shock therapy is to make a patient available for psychotherapy. Shock therapy can be a life saving measure for an agitated patient who is exhausting himself. Thus far we would say that shock therapy has value as an adjuvant therapy and as an emergency measure and should so be used.

Shock therapy may be used as a diagnostic and prognostic aid. Because so frequently manic-depressive psychoses and depressions of other varieties respond so well to electro-shock, it may be assumed that those who respond well fall into those categories and have a more favorable prognosis and that those who do not might be schizophrenic and have a poorer outlook. The danger of using such suppositions as absolute criteria becomes obvious in the following case: A young man had not responded to two series of electro-shock therapy. Therefore he was diagnosed as a hebephrenic praecox. His family was told that he would deteriorate and that it would be best if he were institutionalized. My diagnosis was severe neurotic depression. He subsequently worked with one of my colleagues who confirmed this diagnosis. Under his care there was slight improvement before the patient interrupted the work to resume it shortly with slow but steady improvement. From my experience these patients interrupt treatment many times but continue some kind of relationship with the analyst and will ultimately show considerable favorable change. This is a far different prognosis and result than that of a deteriorating hebephrenic praecox.

The greatest danger of the shock therapies and particularly electro-shock is to the therapist. His office becomes a shock factory and he a mechanic; a button presser. All semblance of psychiatric treatment based on an interpersonal relationship has been lost. Treatment is given on the request of a referring psychiatrist, general practitioner or the insistence of the patient or his family or both without even a personal contact before, during or after, let alone any attempt at an interpersonal therapy. This situation represents an end stage of therapeutic hopelessness regarding the values of human therapy, the acme of mechanization, and a blind and dangerous alley so far as psychiatric advance is concerned.

It has been amply proven that the value of shock therapy derives mainly from the interpersonal relationship that obtains before, during, and after treatment and that shock should only be used as a life saving measure when necessary and to make the patient available for psychotherapy. How long is a fair trial at psychotherapy before resorting to shock? The experience of one of my colleagues is the best answer. (10) Before she was analyzed, she was fascinated with the short-cut therapies and convinced of their efficacy with the 317 patients she had thus treated in the previous 11 years. Now she is much more dubious of such results as more of these patients are returning for further treatment due to relapse. Also, she finds as her analytic knowledge and experience grows and she feels more certain of her competence as a human therapist, she resorts less and less frequently to these therapies, and her results as a therapist are far superior to what they ever were. This colleague's experience is representative of many others. The duration of a fair trial becomes then more extended as the therapist's competence and experience as a psychoanalyst increase.

There also remains the open question whether those patients who were shocked back to the state where they were made available for psychotherapy were not done more harm than good in addition to the organic brain damage they may have suffered. More competent therapists resort to

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shock much less frequently, are willing and able to take greater chances, build a more solid relationship with their patients and on that basis produce at a much slower pace a more lasting and solid result through the fundamental change that has been effected. There is an even greater loss to psychiatric advance from shocking patients back to a state of alleged availability. The opportunity is lost for gaining a detailed knowledge of the psychotic, borderline and severe neurotic states, if patients are shocked out of them. All this information as well as the ways back to health that these patients find with our help never becomes available. And it is only in this manner that we will obtain those insights. Each patient successively will have the benefit of what has been previously learned. In this way we may extend the frontiers of an optimistic therapeutic orientation into those areas which were considered inaccessible to psychoanalytic therapy. Such increased knowledge has been obtained and such fundamental change has been effected by Fromm-Reichman and others. Hoch and Kalinowsky state that: "At present we can only say that we are treating empirically disorders whose etiology is unknown with shock treatments, whose action is also shrouded in mystery," and they add: "At present, there is at our disposal no psychiatric therapy, somatic or psychotherapeutic that can alter impressively the pre-psychotic personality make-up of the individual." Their conclusion, though incorrect, must be a logical outcome of their interest in the non-human therapies they discuss in their book. (5) Shocking patients, you cannot learn about psychological mechanisms. The fact is that the pre-psychotic personality make-up has been impressively altered by a number of persons, including myself, while using modern psychoanalytic techniques.

### PROLONGED NARCOSIS

That many of the short therapists do themselves and their technique an injustice is evident from the recurrent history of overenthusiasm and unwarranted discard which many of these techniques suffer.

Kläsi's prolonged narcosis treatment which came out in 1922 is an example. (11) He went overboard and even wanted to call it psychotherapy. During World War II the English resurrected its use for all disturbed soldiers and discarded it. As an adjunct therapy and as a first aid measure I feel it should be tried more frequently with patients who are exhausted or exhausting themselves physically or emotionally. Its curative value derives from the prolonged physiological rest it makes possible. The body's normal reparative powers have an unimpeded opportunity to make themselves effective, and the constructive forces in the individual's psychic life can be focused exclusively on his emotional problems without external distraction. In competent hands there are no dangers.

### NARCOANALYSIS

Narcoanalysis is a technique for obtaining information or aiding abreaction or both under the influence of a drug which puts the patient into a half-awake or dreamy state. (12) As an emergency measure it has a value in amnesia cases. In battle areas and in busy city hospitals, the arguments of urgency and expediency are legitimate. Patients must be identified. My experience has been that without a drug and with a moderate amount of effort and time one can get the same information, learn a lot about the function of such forgetting, build a relationship with the patient and give him some help with the problems from which he was trying to escape by his amnesia. What often happens after narco: synthesis is that the patient again becomes amnesic at a later date or develops another defense symptom like mutism, deafness, or an hysterical paralysis. Where an amnesia is almost total or is associated with an hysterical mutism or deafness, narcoanalysis has a certain value as an adjuvant in making such patients available for an interpersonal therapy. The sudden and dramatic clearing up of the amnesia appears like an astounding result. The psychiatrist and the public may be very impressed but close scrutiny reveals the patient to be more miserable than ever and he remains

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so until he develops another symptom defense unless his problem has been worked through.

Great emphasis has been placed on the value of narcoanalysis for getting much information about the patient in a short time. In their fascination with short-cuts, psychiatrists use narcoanalysis unnecessarily. Patients often inform the psychiatrist, after several injections, that they would have told them all that and more, if they had only been asked. The psychiatrist had discarded the basic and invaluable tool, the question and answer method, through which he not only gets information, gives human support, builds a relationship, guides his patient but also can make implicit and explicit interpretations. There is a myth that the having of information or the getting of it or both and then simply telling the patient all this, will solve or should solve all his problems. Any competent analyst can get all the information necessary. What is important is to make sense out of it and communicate such knowledge back to the patient so he can use it. That cannot be done without a background of training and experience, and if such short-cuts are always resorted to the psychiatrist will never get it and certainly not add to our fund of knowledge. Besides, experienced analysts have often seen the serious consequences of rapidly confronting a patient with too much information.

Under narcoanalysis patients abreast. This has the value of the confessional, letting off steam, allowing oneself to feel intensely, to feel what one didn't know one felt, to talk about it and act it out. But how valuable is this in and of itself. Three internes, untrained in psychiatry but with great zest and interest, tried narcoanalysis on 10 patients. By the seventh to the tenth injection they all asked me: "Now what should I do? The patients keep repeating themselves and I don't know what to say." The answer was clearly to get the training necessary to know what to say. All these patients had shown a degree of symptom improvements but no understanding of their emotional problems had gone with it

and, as had been the experience of many others, a recurrence was to be expected. In and of itself it cannot be said that narcoanalysis effects fundamental change or shortens the period of therapy. Concurrent series of patients treated without and with narcoanalysis have shown no significant difference in speed of improvement. (13)

Narcoanalysis may have a value as a diagnostic and prognostic tool, however narcoanalytic reactions have been erroneously taken as an absolute criteria for making a diagnosis of neurosis or psychosis and often of a particular type. A marked reaction to a small amount of drug with strong feelings and coherent organized mental content might indicate a considerable aliveness of feelings and availability to interpersonal therapy. Almost no reaction to a large amount of medication might indicate a considerable rigidity and control of feelings or of psychic deadness.

Disorganized and delusional productions might point in the direction of a psychotic admixture of a more or less serious nature. The duration of the period of clarity and the ability to carry on coherent and constructive conversation might be a favorable indicator. And finally, the content of the productions might give us guides as to which problems to work on or not. But all of this information one can get in not too long a time except from extremely inaccessible patients where it takes years.

### NARCOSYNTHESIS

Grinker & Spiegel, who have had the broadest experience with narcosynthesis, though in a war situation, define this technique and its therapeutic value: "Repressed painful or traumatic events and the repressed anxieties and hostilities connected with them are not only exposed during treatment but accepted by the flier's ego. He is then able to deal with them in a more economical and realistic fashion, giving up the neurotic compromises which had resulted in his symptoms. This is the process we call narcosynthesis since under the action of the drug and with aid of the therapist the previously forgotten feelings and memories are synthesized by the ego."



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(14) This statement shows how goals in therapy and the results obtained are inextricably interwoven with the theory of human motivation with which one operates. Theirs was predominantly Freudian. They added that, "Neither pentothal narcosynthesis nor brief psychotherapy can be regarded as a certain cure for the flier's difficulties or are infallible techniques for returning an individual to further stress." Only when they felt stuck did they use narcosynthesis as a diagnostic and therapeutic tool, at most three times on any patient and as a last resort technique. They constantly emphasized that not the narcosynthesis but the psychotherapy that went before, during and after produced the results. They evaluated the worth of the technique and their results with extreme caution. Their competence, experience and background of psychoanalytic training demanded this of them.

The urgency of the situation, but also the Freudian theory of motivation they operated with, limited their goals and results and caused them to exclude many patients from treatment, further proving how important are the psychological tools one works with. In keeping with Freudian theory they emphasized abreaction, the overcoming of resistance, repression and relieving an overstringent superego by using intellectualistic interpretations to do so. They made a notable advance by relating the flier's difficulties to the present or recent past but had to disavow this advance by adding that it was really the past reactivated by present circumstances. Concerning one case they said: "The unravelling of his conflict enabled his not too badly regressed ego to resume the customary technique of dealing with reality and his inner drives," and regarding another: "It was explained that as time went on and combat fears were further and further away, he would gradually build up to the point where he had been before combat." Their objective was then to make him like he was before; i.e., to again live apparently comfortably within the confines of his neurosis. In contrast, our therapeutic objective is to make it pos-

sible for him to become like he never was before but like he potentially could be and without his neurosis.

Their results were prognosticated, not actualized. Their follow-up studies were limited, and they admitted that the only sure test of results was battle action. On the basis of the Harrower-Erickson stress tolerance test they sent 67% of officers back to full flying and 97% back to some kind of duty and 24% of enlisted men to full flying and 79% back to some kind of duty. They got their best results with young men who were only moderately ill or older men who had always functioned quite well in civilian life, if they were treated early, in the acute phase of their illness and if it was due mainly to external precipitating factors. But everyone gets good results with almost any form of psychotherapy with such people. Their poorest results were with patients with strong passive dependent trends, extremely hostile aggressive attitudes and alcoholics—but Freudians have always had poor results with such patients.

The question remained, had the narcosynthesis been of any special value or shortened the treatment or made accessible for worthwhile work any of these patients. They felt it had. That it did not, seems supported by the experience of one division psychiatrist. (15) He was with the division from its formation, through training, battle experience and demobilization. He had developed some kind of a relationship with all the men and officers. Through lecture series to the officers and constant liaison he made them aware of psychiatric problems. He dealt mainly with unselected enlisted men of a most heterogeneous nature. His therapy consisted of the backlog of morale he had built up, short interviews when necessary, a one to three day rest period aided by oral barbiturates right inside of the lines, and a rehabilitation through graduated steps back to full duty. He sent 90% back to actual battle test where he could observe that less than 10% of these failed to make the grade. His experience again proves that what is crucial is the strength of the interpersonal relationship.

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Does narcosynthesis have a place in civilian life? As a first aid measure it might have a value with emotional upheavals due to catastrophic situations and with the type of persons with whom Grinker and Spiegel had their best results. Such acute disturbances in fairly healthy people might follow automobile or industrial accidents, an operative procedure, a difficult labor or delivery, a sudden death in the family or an unexpected break in a love relationship. Naturally narcosynthesis would be preceded by a fair trial at an interpersonal therapy and followed by more of the same. Even in this situation its value remains to be proven. The prolonged narcosis of Kläsi might do as well, if not better.

### HYPNOANALYSIS

Hypnoanalysis is the first of the psychological short-cut techniques to be discussed. No further mention of narcohypnosis need be made than that drugs are one way of inducing the hypnotic state. Hypnoanalysis presents some of the dangers of the other short-cut methods besides some of its own. To the public it is uncanny and magical, to the patient it holds the promise of getting something for nothing and something done to him, for him and on him with a resulting easy cure. Asking to be put into a passive trance state, to be molded like an object, is perpetrating an indignity on himself as a human being. It is a confession of worthlessness to himself and others and of hopelessness about doing anything for himself. Hypnoanalysis robs him of the opportunity of becoming a cooperating, participating human being as a co-equal with the therapist, both having incentive to use their resources to help the patient find his way back to himself. The opportunity, privilege and responsibility to do all this in a state of conscious awareness is lost. He loses the chance to obtain the knowledge of how he had become ill and how he was recovering. Without obtaining this knowledge in an interpersonal situation, he cannot acquire the tools necessary to carry on his subsequent self-analysis. He has likewise lost the opportunity of experiencing the values in human relationships by cir-

cumventing the analytic situation where he can learn under controlled conditions all the effort, patience, doubts and hopes, give and take that must go into constructive relations with others. All of these losses a patient suffers when he asks to be an object, and this he has done with all the short-cut therapies mentioned so far.

The drama and technical virtuosity possible makes hypnoanalysis particularly seductive and hence all the more dangerous for the therapist. The hypnoanalyst can make symptoms appear and disappear, regress his patients to any age level and back again, make him have positive and negative hallucinations, gaze into a mirror, at a crystal ball or a blank board and see or not see all kinds of things and finally start or stop automatic writing — with great speed and almost whenever he wishes. (16) A human being willingly becomes almost powerlessly dependent on him. These possibilities indicate what neurotic trends in the therapist may make hypnoanalysis so fascinating and which trends it likewise fosters in him. A basic hopelessness about his abilities to effect fundamental change by human help may make hypnoanalysis so attractive. A basic hopelessness in a theory of human motivation may attract him to it and it in turn justify him in his in this attitude and block his way to a more optimistic outlook and to his own self-development. Proof of this is the number of articles in recent years written by Freudians about the limitations of psychoanalytic therapy and their increased interest in hypnoanalysis. (17) (18) (19) (20) Some even turn their patients over to non-medical hypnoanalysts to break down or circumvent a patient's resistance where they have failed. Such a trend is a logical outcome of their pessimistic philosophy.

The hypnoanalytic technique has certain dangers in itself which are due mainly to malicious intent or inexperience. Even the temporary dire consequences of parlor tricksters can be undone by an experienced hypnotist. A patient may be precipitated into a psychosis if forced too fast or if erroneous and dangerous interpretations are made. Attempts at experiment or in-

vestigation while carrying on therapy may cause violent reactions on the part of the patient should he discover this. No such danger is present in psychoanalysis where every analysis is regarded as investigative and therapeutic.

Is hypnoanalysis a psychotherapeutic technique? Yes and no. It is where it operates with a single theory of human motivation and through the fact that it has invalidated its usefulness, at least as we see it. Factually, as hypnoanalysis has evolved it has become more and more like psychoanalysis with the trance state being used less frequently. We find hypnoanalysis unnecessary, because the encompassing and optimistic nature of our theory makes possible its constructive utilization and necessary its testing in many areas previously considered inaccessible to psychoanalytic therapy.

Does hypnoanalysis add to our knowledge of human psychopathology? All hypnoanalysts agree that they are takers and not givers and that better hypnoanalysis is dependent on better theory, the way to which knowledge they themselves block. Some hypnoanalysts say that their techniques of regression confirm Freud's theory of psychosexual development. That is like starting out as a proven premise with the premise you want to prove. They also assume the concepts of the repetition compulsion about which there is much doubt. And thirdly they assume that the regressed states produced are identical with the various assumed stages of psychosexual development when logically they can only be similar or analogous.

The hypnoanalyst states that the original hypnotic induction is made possible through the patient's dependency needs and his belief in the therapist's magical powers, both of which attitudes are encouraged. Later, to overcome these needs, the hypnoanalyst, actively works through the patient's dependency needs and makes him realize that he must work out his own problems and assume responsibility for himself. Initially a patient is encouraged to be dependent and later in a trance this attitude is

discouraged. Why would he not wake up when asked to give up something so important? Secondly, if he apparently did give up his dependent needs, it would be to please the hypnotist and not himself, which would be no real resolution of the problem.

Thirdly, why wouldn't his hypnotizability cease as soon as he became less dependent and invalidate the whole procedure, terminating any further work and causing him to discard what he had accepted from the hypnotist because of his need to please?

Another value placed on hypnoanalysis is that much more information can be obtained more quickly, particularly if it had been consciously withheld or repressed. It has already been stated that an analyst rarely lacks information, that more information of itself does not make therapy go faster but competence, experience, and good tools with which to work.

The Freudian hypnoanalyst's objectives are consistent with his notion of resistance and transference. Resistance is a peripheral manifestation, the first line of defense against uncovering repression. What is repressed? Painful infantile sexual memories. A technique that would in short order circumvent resistance and get at what is repressed would be logical. Resistance is conceived of as a personalized devil which has to be outwitted by techniques of subterfuge and trickery. Consistent with Freudian theory, the patient cannot cooperate because he is a helpless and hopeless victim of this resistance and his destructive id instincts. Pushing a patient into so-called deeper levels would be logical, namely to recall and abreact exorcized memories. We would regard it as dangerous to confront a patient too quickly with his fundamental problems; i.e. his basic conflicts. They feel that the energy freed through abreaction could be more effectively used to control the id instincts and strengthen the ego. With this mechanistic concept of insight they could not conceive of the possibilities and values of working through blockages, our term which includes their concept of resistance, and developing an understanding of the neurotic character structure which in its turn would lead to hopeful solutions

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of current problems. Plunging a patient into the transference situation also becomes logical. A rapid abreaction of painful memories in relation to the analyst as mother or father surrogate would be desirable.

Rushing a patient through the necessary steps of his analysis, as the hypnoanalyst attempts to do, would be consistent with Freudian theory. It conceives of analysis as having an uncovering and a reeducative part, the first going on during analysis, the second thereafter. Actually no analysis proceeds this way. Something unconscious is identified and defined. Its variations, connections, functions and consequences are worked through. Interpretations are made. One has insights about oneself. This process is repeated endlessly and following each step a process of reeducation goes on. Dichotomizing an analysis into an uncovering and a reeducative part is an impossibility. Kaleidoscoping an analysis remains an artificiality in the analyst's and patient's mind. Experience has shown that pushing an analysis beyond a patient's tolerance leads to serious trouble both for patient and analyst.

Hypnoanalysts felt called upon to refute the allegations that the insights that occur in the trance state and the changes that follow cannot be valid. Their argument is that there is such a thing as unconscious insight. We have ample evidence to support this latter contention. (21) The real point is: do unconscious insights actually occur in hypnoanalysis as it is now practiced? The proof lay in their fulfilling the criteria for terminating therapy as we have defined them. This they have not done as is evident in their literature.

What about their results? Consistent with Freudian theory they are equated mainly in terms of symptom improvement. Gill and Brenman are quite cautious in evaluating hypnoanalysis in their monograph. (22) They speak in terms of results with symptoms and psychiatric syndromes. Because their monograph contains no protocols it is difficult to determine whether fundamental character changes had taken place.

*Rebel Without a Cause* is a fairly detailed and cautious protocol of the history and treatment of an 18-year-old psychopathic personality with a 5 year prison term ahead of him. (23) Lindner had the hunch he could help this boy. His patient was young and wanted to shorten his sentence. He was frightened of his overt homosexual leanings, wanted treatment for his nystagmus, strabismus, and ptosis which had played a major role in his emotional difficulties and he could not run away from treatment. Lindner has 46 sessions with him of about 1½ hours each, making a total of about 75 hours of treatment. This is a short period of therapy. He only hypnotized him 5 times, the first time in the 36th hour. Lindner operated with Freudian theory. At the end of treatment Lindner stated that Harold's eyes winked less. He felt better toward himself and others. He has a more human understanding of his father whom he had hated. Gone were his sullenness, arrogance, and complete disregard for the rights and feelings of others. Those who had known him remarked on his radically altered behavior pattern.

This is a very significant result with a psychopathic personality. The difficulty is that the protocol does not contain sufficient material to deny or confirm this contention. Also he was still in prison at the end of treatment. There is no follow-up there and we do not know what would happen to him outside of prison walls. Lindner does not state why he stopped treatment at the point he did but the reasons would be implicit in his interest in hypnoanalysis, the theory he worked with and the urgency of the work in a prison. His results with other cases which he followed are equated in terms of symptom improvement. He regarded as a good result the acceptance with comfort as a necessary life pattern, the homosexuality from which two of his patients suffered.

Wolberg presented another detailed protocol on a middle-aged man diagnosed as a hebephrenic praecox with which diagnosis Wolberg and Kardiner did not agree, nor would I from the material. (16) He had recovered from a previous psychotic epi-



sode and was a man with many constructive resources. Likewise he had not deteriorated. Before Wolberg started hypnoanalysis which went on for several hundred hours he had spent many hundred hours attempting an interpersonal therapy with limited results. Wolberg's theoretical approach was eclectic, using concepts from Horney, Kardiner, and Freud—mainly the latter. His hypnoanalytic dexterity and virtuosity are clearly portrayed in the book. Kardiner wrote an introduction and synopsis to the book.

This case is not suitable for determining the benefits of hypnoanalysis nor do the results appear to be objectively evaluated. In the first place, such patients often show a spontaneous remission. Likewise the patient was a person with many constructive resources, was not severely psychotic and had shown a tendency to recovery as exemplified in his previous episode. Furthermore he had many hundreds of hours of interpersonal therapy before hypnoanalysis began. With the time spent with this man, it seems very likely that an analyst operating with a consistent theory and experienced with these patients would get as good a result or better and possibly in a shorter time.

Wolberg stated that: "At the end of therapy there was no outward trace of mental disorder. Johan's entire personality structure was so changed and he was so spontaneous and outgoing that he was considered normal by every person who knew him." Kardiner said: "Some kind of social life became possible." Wolberg continued: "The Rorschach test revealed no evidence of anxiety and no neurotic or psychotic tendencies." These contrasting verbatim statements portray a marked disparity of opinions about the results. To my knowledge the paragon of human integration that Wolberg described does not exist in Western society, "No evidence of anxiety and no neurotic and psychotic tendencies."

The best answer to the meaning of hypnoanalysis for the therapist and the future of psychoanalysis is accurately exemplified

in the experience of one of my colleagues who had found great value in the short therapies and had himself been an able hypnotist. As his own analysis proceeded and as he became more aware of and experienced in the use of analytic tools he noted that his interest in these therapies was lagging markedly and that he was losing to a considerable degree his ability to hypnotize. (24)

#### BRIEF "PSYCHOANALYSIS"

A basic hopelessness inherent in Freudian theory has led to an emphasis on rules and regulations in analytic practice as well as on technique. To overcome a patient's resistance and shorten the period of analysis, an arbitrary time limit may be set at the beginning of the analysis or at some point in its course, particularly when the analysis is lagging. Such a technique would logically follow from Freudian theory; namely, that an analysis consists of an uncovering and a reeducative part, that an intellectual awareness of an early termination would drive a patient on to work harder and get as many insights as he possibly can, and that dependency attitudes will be avoided or frustrated from developing.

The impossibility of dichotomizing an analysis into an uncovering and reeducative part has been discussed. The idea that an intellectual awareness will effect such increased activity on the part of the patient is consistent with the intellectualistic emphasis in Freudian thinking. Only on rare occasions can setting an arbitrary termination date in a slow-moving analysis have value. Frequently such a decision presents the analyst with a dilemma when he sees this technical maneuver has been ineffective. To go through with that termination when he sees that much work remains to be done would be unfair to the patient; not to terminate may cause difficulties in the analysis. What a patient factually gets with an arbitrarily decided upon period of analysis or an arbitrarily terminated one is not a short-cut analysis or a shortened analysis but a short period of analysis or a shorter period of analysis

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than he should have received. Thinking that he has been completely analyzed in a short time encourages an arrogant pride in his "successful analysis" or leads to chagrin and confusion about his remaining problems. The avoidance of bringing dependency attitudes into the analysis and particularly into the transference relationship are understandable but not a solution, for they still remain unanalyzed. As you may recall, Grinker and Spiegel almost automatically avoided such cases after a number of bad results and that attitude is emphasized in Alexander and French's book which I shall discuss shortly. The reason for this avoidance of dependency attitudes is that it contains the problem of masochism for which Freudian analysts do not have a good theoretical, let alone technical answer.

Alexander and French on a background of Freudian theory and a large analytic experience, present some startling results obtained with a variety of patients in from one to 65 sessions. (25) The focus is definitely on symptom improvement, mitigation of the severest manifestation of various psychiatric syndromes with the goal of more or less apparent comfort within a framework of social adjustment. With such goals in therapy we naturally would not agree nor would we agree with another of their premises. They state that psychoanalysis has passed the experimental phase where every case presented both investigative and therapeutic objectives. They state that the theory has been proven and can be assumed and that the main objective should now be therapeutic in the shortest time possible. On the basis of their given theory they investigated many examples of certain psychiatric and psychosomatic syndromes and worked out the psychological configurations to be expected. These configurations they also take as given. With the theory as given and the psychological configurations taken as proven, they have two fixed coordinates. The objective then is to get the patient, who fits into one or the other category, to see himself in terms of the main psychological constellations of

one or the other and as rapidly as possible. To attain his objective a great technical virtuosity is necessary. In the book there is constant mention of manipulating the environment or the patient. The transference relationship is allowed to develop, encouraged or avoided. Certain problems are excluded or focused on. The number of hours, the use of the analytic couch and interruptions of treatment are also manipulated. A point is made of frustrating the patient at times.

The fact of the matter is that all the techniques used in this book are well known and have been tried by an experienced analyst. What is dangerous and regrettable is the overfocus on brevity of treatment and obvious results, the fascination with technique and the assumption that analytic theory has reached its zenith. Again we see the results of the hopelessness inherent in a theory that propels even very experienced therapists in the direction of techniques.

### GROUP THERAPY

A complete paper would be necessary for a thorough discussion of group therapy. (26) Conceiving of it as one of the short therapies brings to it all the dangers mentioned in such a concept. It also seems to have interfered with a real investigation of its indications and contra-indications, possibilities and limitations. From a study of the literature and a personal theoretical analysis (27) of the subject it appears that group therapy has a proven value with psychotics, children, and adolescents, as a first aid, adjuvant, or superficial therapy. Its values as a true psychotherapy remain to be accurately investigated.

### CONCLUSION

To recapitulate: All the techniques utilized in the so-called short therapies are well known to experienced analysts. They have used one or the other at times when apparently indicated. What is necessary is a sharper delineation of the criteria for their indications and contraindications and more work to prove definitely whether they actually do or possibly can shorten

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the total period of a therapy according to the criteria for improvement as we have set them down. I have tried to show that a basic hopelessness about human therapy, or the theory with which one operates leads one in the direction of technical virtuosity. We can only hope that we like-

wise will not succumb. Our best protections are an awareness of this danger and a constant working at our self-development with better and better theory which should never become a given fact but a useful tool to be constantly sharpened by necessary changes.

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## INHIBITIONS IN WORK

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**M**OST neuroses affect our work life in one way or another. In this paper, I shall deal with some of the work impairments which stem directly from neuroses. I shall not refer to difficulties which are due to economic pressures, nor to peculiarities due to cultural attitudes toward work (compare, for instance, the New Englander with the Mexican Indian); nor shall I consider the many impairments of work which are related not to the work itself but rather to disturbed relationships with the people for whom or with whom the work is done.

The range of neurotic difficulties in work is great. There is the prodigious worker with seemingly inexhaustible energies, but the quality of his work remains far beneath his real potential. There are those who work frantically and consider wasted every hour not given to work. There are many who cannot concentrate. There are gifted persons who take up one pursuit after another, starting with enthusiasm but soon dropping it. There are those who make sporadic efforts but lack consistency; those who scatter their energies in various directions; those who conceive brilliant ideas or projects but never get around to doing anything about them.

All kinds of distress may be connected with work: from strain and exhaustion to fears and open panics. Such distress may arise in the process of work or at public performances. The capacity to work, final-

ly, may be linked up to rigid conditions: to hours in the morning or at night; to the absence or presence of outside pressure; to strict solitude, or to other people being around—and so on and so forth.

The disturbances, as a rule, are all the greater the more personal faculties are required for the particular work. There is a sliding scale from routine work to creative work; from factory work to social work, teaching, scientific, or artistic work. The difficulties usually increase with the amount of initiative, responsibility, self-reliance, courage, creativity required. I shall restrict my comments to those kinds of work for which we have to tap our personal resources—creative work in the broadest sense of the word.

### FOUR FACTORS IN WORK

What, then, are the conditions for doing creative work in the above sense? Four main factors are necessary which we shall discuss in detail:

1. Gifts;
2. Consistency of interest and of effort;
3. Self confidence;
4. A positive emotional attitude toward the work—genuine interest, love, devotion, faith.

*Gifts.* Undoubtedly people are not equally endowed with gifts. Recent educational ventures have shown, for instance, that most people can paint when properly encouraged, but not everybody can be a

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Rembrandt or a Renoir. On the other hand, gifts are often regarded too much as an absolute and mysterious property which one has or has not, while actually many psychological factors enter into it. It would be difficult to say, for instance, whether a person has a gift for teaching or whether his personality and his interest — from whatever source—make him a good teacher. Has somebody an undefinable flair for psychological matters or is it his interest—again from whatever sources—that makes him an astute observer or a good psychotherapist? Also: we cannot determine the extent of abilities before a person puts them to the test in the way of active work in the particular field. As long as he is inhibited to put them to test, he is free to imagine either that he has supreme gifts or that he has none whatever.

**Consistency.** By consistency I do not mean the restriction of interest and effort to one field. This would merely make for the narrow-mindedness of the "specialist." Whatever our work is, it can only be done well against a broad background of a wide scope of interests. But to achieve anything in any field there must be a clear hierarchy of interest. We must decide where our main interest, our main ability, lies. Also we must have the self-discipline necessary for putting in consistent effort in the chosen field. Needless to say, no productive work can ever be like the regularity of a machine. Relaxation will be necessary. Tolerance will be necessary for periods during which something is quietly growing within ourselves without anything being produced.

**Self-confidence.** Any work that is not mechanical routine requires a measure of self-confidence. Emerson expressed it in negative terms when he said: "It is because we minimize ourselves that we do not accomplish." It takes self-confidence to take one's work seriously; the more so when the effort does not show immediate results. The more so, the less we are backed up by approval, but work alone or against opposition. The more so, the more decisions are to be made, risks to be taken. The more so, the more creative a work is.

It takes supreme and unerring assertion for the creative artist to express his feelings and experiences.

The fact that any productive work requires self-confidence is another reason that renders it difficult to appraise gifts. Is, for instance, the fact that women by and large are less productive than men due to their being less endowed by nature or to an impairment of their self-confidence through various outside pressures.

**Genuine Interest** (love, devotion, faith). A teacher, a minister, or an analyst may be interested in doing things for others; but in order to be a good teacher, minister, or analyst, he must believe in the work he is doing, he must love the work itself. For a work to be valuable it must be not only a means to an end, no matter whether this end is to help, to earn money, or to gain prestige. What John Macmurray says about the artist's relation to his object is true for any productive work: "Without such an interest in the object for its own sake, it is impossible to grasp any reality at all." Success is dependent on many factors, largely outside ourselves; it is the work itself that must have meaning and value for us. Then, and then only, can we give ourselves to it with all our sensitivities, intelligence, imagination, energies.

All these basic requirements to work are well known. Each single detail has been said a thousand times by philosophers, poets, educators. But apparently it remains a fairly abstract knowledge, i.e., a knowledge we do not apply to ourselves. Or else, how can we account for the innumerable complaints about inhibitions in work without the question ever raised: do I fulfill the necessary requirements? If not, why not? And this is why I started enumerating the preconditions for productive work: I want to discuss what exactly are the neurotic difficulties interfering with the healthy attitudes toward work.

#### GIFTS

Let us start with frequent neurotic attitudes in regard to *gifts*. The existence of special faculties may be emphatically denied. A highly intelligent person, for

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instance, may insist on being stupid. A person with great understanding for painting may deny the possibility that he could paint. Such an attitude may be an integral part of a pervasive self-berating; in addition there is usually an unconscious preference of resigning rather than exposing himself to ridicule. The fear of ridicule, in turn, is an expression of a felt discrepancy between superlative imagined achievement and realistic possibilities. On the opposite extreme are the patients who emphasize and aggrandize their potentialities, bask in them, but in actual fact never get beyond having brilliant ideas or projects. These are people who, to use a term of Kierkegaard's, flounder in possibilities and shirk facing the necessity of down to earth work. In their imagination potentialities are the accomplished product and usually they claim the same recognition as if they had actually done the imagined deeds. Their pride is so overweening and so much based on sheer possibilities, that it does not permit of any putting to the test.

### CONSISTENCY

Concerning *consistency* there are frequent difficulties. One of them is scattering of interests and energies in many directions. There is the woman, for instance, who has to be the perfect mother, housewife, hostess; she also has to be the best dressed woman, to be active on committees, to have her hand in politics, to be a great writer. The person himself, when realizing the existence of such a disorder, usually ascribes it to the multitude of his gifts. With an ill-concealed arrogance, he may express his envy of those less fortunate fellow-beings who are endowed with just one gift. The diversity of faculties may actually exist, but it is not the source of his troubles. The background usually is an insistent refusal to recognize limitations. Against all evidence to the contrary, he feels that others may not be able to do so many things, but he can, and can do them all to perfection. To restrict his activities for him is not wisdom but would smell of defeat and contemptible weakness. The prospect of being a human being like others, with limitations

like others, is degrading and thus intolerable. It almost goes without saying that he is not really related to any activity. He is consumed with having to prove his unlimited powers and unlimited excellence and is enslaved by these drives.

Many neurotics, otherwise inertly wasting time with trivialities, are able to make *sporadic* efforts. Real emergencies may dispel the psychic paralysis. Usually sloppy and disorganized, a housewife may swing a big party, or do a big housecleaning. Here it is the glory of the dramatic, of the unusual, that captivates her imagination, while the humble tasks of daily living are resented as humiliation or coercion. Others can start pursuits with frantic energy and enthusiasm. They make big outlines for a book, work at an invention, have business projects, set an organization going—but soon after their interest peters out. Several things may interfere, all of them stemming from a similar background. An individual may have never thought of realistically doing anything, but his imagination may have simply indulged in producing glittering soap-bubbles. He may feel that it behooves him, the genius, to evolve plans, but the "detail" work should be done by the ordinary run of people. He may be unable to bear suspense as to failure or success, because failure would threaten him with total self-condemnation and, therefore, he tends to give up at the first difficulty. He may be impatient of immediate results because he feels he should be able to perfect the great invention, or to write the book in no time. Otherwise he is no good at all. The premature giving up, then, seen from the angle of pride is a face-saving manoeuvre. If he holds out a little longer, each obstacle turns into an ordeal. Because again, he feels he *should* be able to overcome it perfectly and instantaneously otherwise he is just a poor fool.

Sporadic efforts, thus, rather feed the pride than detract from it. Consistent efforts are an insult to neurotic pride. Every Dick, Tom and Harry can get somewhere with prodding work! As long as no efforts are made, the pride is protected. There is, then, always the reservation that he would have accomplished something great if he had

put in real efforts. The most hidden aversion against consistent efforts lies in the threat to the illusion of unlimited powers. Suppose you want to cultivate a garden. Whether you want to or not, you will soon become aware that the garden does not turn into a blossoming paradise overnight. It will progress not more and not less than the amount of work you put in. You will have the same sobering experience when consistently working at reports or papers, when doing publicity work or teaching. There is a limit to your time, your energies, and to what you can achieve within these limits. As long as the neurotic holds on to his illusions of unlimited energies and unlimited achievements, he must by necessity be wary of exposing himself to such disillusioning experiences. Or, when he does, he must chafe under them as under an undignified yoke. Such resentment in turn will make him tired and exhausted.

#### SELF-CONFIDENCE

*Self-confidence* as we know, is always impaired in neuroses for many reasons. Self-idealization and glorification, while giving a feeling of importance, actually add to the inner uncertainty. They rob the neurotic of a solid base to stand on, alienate him from himself and—even worse—make him inevitably turn against his true self with hatred and contempt. The kind of disturbance varies according to the whole structure. A spurious self-confidence may be in the foreground. Self-doubts are rigidly suppressed. The person in his imagination is his idealized image. There is nothing he cannot do. The mere possibility of failure is eliminated. Failures that do occur hardly register. Whatever is done appears to be wonderful. People of this type are often admired for their seemingly unlimited capacity for work. But I wonder whether their glib facilities to write, paint, speak, etc., actually assume the dignity of work. Since they, too, are unrelated to their activities and since they have an endless craving for prestige, their work easily is a means to opportunistic ends.

Another category of overconfident people likewise do not become aware of existing inhibitions toward work. They paint

masterpieces, write masterbooks, make world-rocking inventions—in their imagination. Their self-contempt is not as effectively blotted out as in the previous group. Though hardly perceived in conscious awareness, a crushing dread of failure lurks around the corner. This dread, though mostly unconscious, works as a powerful deterrent from putting any abilities to the test of reality. Their pride, invested in limitless potentialities, is so brittle that it must be safeguarded by inactivity. As any weak position it requires further defenses. Thus they will often develop a secondary pride on the very fact of *not* working. They feel that they are above competition, above ambition. So they get more entrenched in their inertia. Then a third fortification becomes necessary. Any comparison with others achieving something — particularly others in their own age-group—threatens to demolish the whole lofty structure. So they have to avoid such contacts by withdrawing into an ivory tower.

In both categories mentioned not much of the inner battle between pride and self-contempt appears on the surface. Whether producing in a glib opportunistic fashion or producing in imagination only, the person does not become aware of existing difficulties. These make themselves felt in all those who keep trying to work. Sometimes, then, the individual is obviously pulled and pushed between exacting demands for absolute and immediate perfection on the one hand and destructive self-contempt on the other. A painter, for instance, struck by the beauty of a certain object visualizes a glorious composition. He starts to paint. The first statement on the canvas looks superb. He feels elated. But it has not yet reached the ultimate perfection of his first vision. He tries to improve. It turns out less good. At this point he gets frantic. He keeps "improving" but the colours become duller and dead. And in no time the picture is destroyed and he gives up in utter despair. After a while he starts another picture, only to go through the same agonizing process. What happens? His own demands for excellency are so inexorable that without knowing it he turns violently against him-

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self as soon as he is faced with the possibility of not reaching the peak of his expectations. With patient work he might come close to it.

Similarly a writer may write for a while fluently, carried by visions of greatness. But then he runs up against a difficulty in phrasing, in organizing the material. He gets listless, cannot get himself to work for some days and in a fit of rage tears the last pages to shreds. Nightmares occur in which he is caught in a room with a maniac who is out to kill him—a pure and simple expression of murderous rage against himself.

Not always is the self-destructiveness so obvious or so violent. More frequently a subtle undermining, berating, doubting saps the energies without the person being aware of what he is doing to himself. All he notices, then, is a lack of concentration, a restlessness. He becomes fidgety, doodles, plays solitaire, makes some phone calls which could just as well wait, files his fingernails, catches flies. He gets disgusted with himself, makes heroic efforts to work, but in a short time is so deadly fatigued that he has to give up.

It may take quite some analysis to realize that here, too, the person is expecting the impossible and beats himself down if he cannot measure up to it. He expects, for instance, to write a paper without having thought it through previously. He expects one thought to flow out after the other without having made an outline. He expects the perfect verbal expression of a thought without the thought itself being clarified in his mind. Inevitably running into difficulties because of such implicit expectations, he does not sit down to think it over—no, he starts to call himself an idiot, a dope, so that the little self-confidence he has, sinks below zero. Being consumed with anger at himself, he, then, actually loses his capacity to think clearly.

The compulsive nature of these processes prevents him from learning from his mistakes, from developing feasible working-habits. He may have realized ten or twenty times that it is better to make an outline

prior to writing a paper. But his unconscious insistence that he should be able to write without such preparatory work prevents him from acting on his better knowledge.

The more responsibility a work requires, the more personal it is, the more the lack of self-confidence shows in still two other ways. We know that as a result of his divided self-evaluation the neurotic loses sight of his real self. He does not know what he really wants or believes. Hence he cannot or does not dare to make decisions. But in any personal work, decisions have to be made constantly. If I write a paper, for instance, I must decide what I feel to be more important and what less. I must decide what to elaborate and what to leave out. I must decide on the sequence of material presented. I must decide whether a sentence or a paragraph does say what I wanted to express. I must commit myself to a conclusion.

Also, because of the fading out of the real self, the neurotic often does not know or does not dare to know his own feelings. But for any creative work it is essential to be true to one's feelings, to express one's own experiences. No artist can create anything worth while with a glass wall between himself and his feelings. It is not only the intellectual sincerity that counts but even more so the emotional sincerity.

Sometimes people feel quite all right except for their inhibitions in work. That can hardly be true because the factors operating here are bound to operate elsewhere. What it means is that the inhibitions in work disturb them most palpably. This is so for healthy and for neurotic reasons. There is no fulfillment of ourselves without constructive work. And the inhibitions may be a stumbling block in the compulsive search for glory. There is, however, another problem involved. Many neurotics can function fairly well when dealing with people; they can also work with people. But when it comes to doing something on their own, by themselves, they feel utterly lost. There is the anthropological field worker who can be most resourceful in contacting the natives but is utterly lost when it comes to formula-



ting his findings; the social worker who is competent with clients or as supervisor, but gets panicky over making a report or an evaluation; the art student who paints fairly well with his teacher around, but forgets all he has learned, when alone. How are we to account for such marked discrepancies? If self-contempt is strong and close to the surface, it has full sway when we are alone. It pulls us down into a feeling of nothingness or of ineffectualness. The others, then, keep us above water. They strengthen us by approval, attention, any kind of response. They may strengthen us even when they are hostile, because their very hostility allows us to thrust outside some of the hostility directed against ourselves.

What detracts further from self-confidence is a berating self-discrediting. A scientist could not get himself to read his own previous publications because through his self-disparaging they were burnt to ashes in his own mind. When he had to read them he anticipated a humiliating experience and each time was surprised to find them to his liking. A music student is asked whether she works systematically. She becomes embarrassed and answers with a "I don't know." For her, to work systematically means to sit fixed before the piano for eight straight hours, working intently all the time, hardly taking a few minutes off for lunch. Since she cannot give this ultimate of concentrated, sustained attention, she turns against herself, calls herself a dilettante who will never get anywhere. Actually she studies hard at a piece of music, studies the reading, the memorizing, the structure, the fingering, the pedaling, the speed, the movements of the right and the left hand—in other words she could have been entirely satisfied with the seriousness of her work.

#### GENUINE INTEREST

In spite of all difficulties, some neurotic people can feel *genuine interest* in their work. Many detached people, for instance, emotionally isolated from others, can be entirely devoted to the work they are doing. Others may frankly love at least some as-

pects of their work. These are areas in which they function well *despite* neuroses or *because* they satisfy certain neurotic needs. A neurotic person may transfer his self-glorification to his work and on these grounds develop an almost fanatic faith in its greatness and significance. It would be interesting to examine more accurately the individual constellations allowing for a comparatively free flow of emotions into work.

More frequently, however, such a positive attitude is marred by the neurotic entanglements, his inner conflicts may have led to a general numbness of feelings, which in that case also would include work. He may be so preoccupied with his difficulties and, therefore, become so egocentric that his capacity to love is badly impaired. His very inhibitions in work may be felt as such a blow to his pride that he withdraws interest or even develops a vindictive hatred for his work. Finally the tension and turmoil he feels while working may be so great that he cannot possibly love the work. In the latter case, he often asks himself desperately whether perhaps his whole interest in his field is just pretense. But that is not necessarily so. The very fact of his sticking to it despite pains and panics, points to a persistent existing interest. In that case, he will feel free to love his work as soon as he gains a measure of faith in himself.

Most frequently an existing alive interest for a work is deadened by the feeling of doing it under coercion and by the concomitant resentment. This process may be so deeply buried that merely its results show in the form of listlessness, fatigue, exhaustion. Others may at least start to wonder why they behave toward a work they cherish like a schoolboy playing hooky, as if it were a tedious task from which to get away. In many instances the feeling of coercion is fully conscious. It is referred, then, to outside pressures, such as a costumer expecting the delivery of a design, a speech required for a meeting, a publisher expecting a manuscript. Closer examination shows that the expectations of others may exist but do not account for the reaction. The expectation of the others often is the very

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thing the person himself wants. However minimal or legitimate the expectations are, they arouse a blind defiance and an entirely disproportionate resentment. Existing pressures, such as a deadline to be met, may even be helpful in sweeping aside the inhibitions toward work because they may temporarily silence the inner battle. All of which points to the reason for the hypersensitivity to coercion lying within the person himself. And here he chafes indeed under a merciless tyranny of inner dictates, under the "tyranny of the should" which is born from an unconscious presumptuous drive to be godlike and to attain the impossible. This inner tyranny is so cramping that as a means for escape he dreams of and craves for unlimited freedom. This "freedom" is not a constructive freedom *for* but merely a negative freedom *from* all coercion. It entails the mistaken motive that freedom consists in doing whatever you please at any moment. This wish, understandable considering its origin, usually turns into a claim: he is entitled to a life without any pressures, without any necessities. Any expectation from the outside, then, is felt as an unfair imposition and is met not only with anger but with indignation and with an irresistible impulse to frustrate all intents to "enslave," regardless of his own interest in the matter. The blind rebellion is directed not only against persons, institutions, circumstances, but also against any necessity inherent in the process of work. Thus he may start a job or a piece of creative writing with quite some zest but blindly rebel against the necessity to put in disciplined work in order to achieve something. Working, then, against inner resistances makes him listless and unproductive. His love for the work is tainted with distaste.

Besides these general factors there are two specific ones counteracting a genuine interest in work. One of them we find in those people who on account of their self-hatred not only feel unlovable but try to blot out of their lives any hope for love. They feel it too much out of reach and throw all their energies into a pursuit of success. Psycho-

logically they devote their lives to triumphing vindictively over others. These people logically, then, cannot love their work, partly because they cannot and do not want to love anything, partly because work for them is merely a means to an end.

On the opposite extreme are those who reversely tend to recoil from ambitious pursuits because they feel them too much fraught with psychic danger. And while they, too, feel at bottom unlovable, they nevertheless, have gone on a frantic search for love, hoping that love would be an over-all solution for all their neurotic troubles. Work for them is too closely knitted with vindictive triumph, thus appears as a direct threat to attaining love and hence is resented. In Freudian literature those two extreme developments are understood as an unconscious decision for masculinity or femininity. But actually they have nothing to do with biology. Culturally the search for love as a solution is favoured in women. If love is overemphasized, a vicious circle keeps operating. Since with a suppression of the need for triumph usually all aggressive impulses are checked. People of this type feel weak and for this reason doubly need the direct affirmation of themselves through love.

Knowing the conditions for doing productive work we could almost predict in a neurotic individual the kind of difficulties he is likely to have in his work—provided we are familiar with his character-structure. Generally speaking, the conditions being as they are and the neurotic structure being as it is, we must expect to find some difficulties in work in every neurosis. These may loom large and present the main complaint, or they may have not been noticed by the patient—but some of the great range of disturbances will be operating. They—like any other neurotic trouble—cannot be tackled in an isolated fashion. But they will become understandable and disappear to the extent to which the whole personality is straightened out.

### COST OF WORK INHIBITIONS

It is difficult to convey the amount of suffering engendered by most of the inhibitions

## KAREN HORNEY

in work. Perhaps only an artist could describe the silent ordeals of those who in their attempt to work run up against intangible but unsurpassable odds, time and time again. I call them silent ordeals because they are often felt as such a disgrace that people do not like to talk about them, even to their best friends. We have said that the neurotic is averse to efforts, that he craves for "effortless superiority"—to use a good term coined by Alexander Martin. That is right up to a point. As I mentioned, many neurotics scorn efforts; many of them go to great length to avoid anything resembling real work. But why should they like efforts if these are fraught with torments, and if, in addition, they do not believe they could ever achieve anything? If they were able to make healthy efforts, would they not enjoy

them as well as anybody else? Most certainly they would, and as a matter of fact, they do, as soon as an effort is not loaded with self-torture and anxiety.

There are ways, however, to avoid suffering. As indicated before, many neurotics are not even aware of having inhibitions in work. But there is no way to avoid the losses the inhibitions entail. Whether or not they are aware of it, they are prevented from tapping all their resources and, hence, cannot fulfill themselves in an essential area of life. Multiplying the individual loss by the thousands, the inhibitions in work become a loss to mankind. They constitute a waste of human energies and should open everybody's eyes to the necessity of combatting neurosis more seriously than it is now being done.

## THE DATA OF PSYCHOANALYSIS AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

HAROLD D. LASSWELL \*

**I**T is impossible to conduct a psychoanalysis without disclosing data of interest to the social sciences. I shall undertake to make clear just why this is so, and to pose the question whether arrangements should be perfected to collect psychoanalytic data on a broad and systematic scale.

### VALUES AND INSTITUTIONS

Possibly the most convenient introduction to the subject is a brief outline of the social process as it is investigated by modern social scientists. *Man* uses *resources* by means of *institutions* to shape and distribute *values*. A *value*, in the sense here used, is a category of desired events, the goal events of acts of evaluation. (1)

Social science is mainly concerned with two important groups of values to which we refer here as the *welfare* and the *deference* values. By welfare values we mean those whose possession to a certain degree is a necessary condition for the maintenance of the physical and psychic integrity of the person. Among the welfare values are well-being, wealth, skill, and enlightenment. *Well-being* relates primarily to the health and safety of the organism. *Wealth* is income: the services of goods and persons accruing to the individual in any way whatever. *Skill* is proficiency in any practice whatever, whether in arts or crafts, trade or profession. By *enlightenment* is meant knowledge, insight, and information about human relations.

Deference values are those that consist in being taken into consideration (in the acts of others and of the self). *Power* is participation in the making of decisions. *Respect* is the value of status, of honor, recognition, prestige, the "glory" or "reputation" which Hobbes classes with gain and safety as one of the three fundamental human motivations. *Rectitude* comprises moral values—virtue, goodness, righteousness, and so on. *Affection*, finally, includes the values of love and friendship.

No assumption is made in using this list that eight values are all that men have sought in the past or will seek in the future. The list is representative, not exhaustive. It is serviceable, especially in studying our civilization, because it is obvious that welfare and deference values are taken for granted both in private life and in the activities of our public institutions. Well-being, wealth, skill, enlightenment, power, respect, rectitude, and affection do not strike anyone as irrelevant to America, or for that matter, to the culture of any society.

Furthermore, no assumptions are made here as to the comparative intensity with which these values are held, or the importance assigned to them by various persons and groups. Machiavelli justifies the study of history with the observation that:

"Whoever considers the past and the present will readily observe that all cities and all peoples are and ever have been

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animated by the same desires and the same passions; so that it is easy, by diligent study of the past, to foresee what is likely to happen in the future." (2)

However similar the "motive, passion and desire" among various persons and cultures, there are flagrant differences as well, differences especially in the importance attached to the same value. There are cultures where the pursuit of power is of minor consequence, and where it is bad form to be ambitious for a decisive hand in community affairs. We know of cultures where wealth is of little consequence to anybody. In view of these facts we intend to make no *a priori* assumptions about the relative significance of the values in our list, but to emphasize that specific investigations are needed in order to establish their rank order in concrete circumstances.

Hence social scientists do not take such value lists as an enumeration of "instincts" or "drives" of all men everywhere, but rather as useable categories for describing the activities which constitute the basic social process of a given time and place. There is implied a categorical rejection of any "philosophy of history" that pretends to exalt a single motive into a dominant role in human affairs—as though always and everywhere human conduct can be interpreted as striving only for economic gain, or for political power, or for prestige and glory, or for love and affection. In a specific situation, any or all of these—and other goals as well—may be involved in different degrees. But the degree can be determined only by appropriate methods of investigation.

We note further that the application of the value-list does not depend upon the intensive methods of observation appropriate to general and comparative psychology. The list is not made by selecting terms which have been most convenient in describing the behavior of rats, or of human infants. Power, for instance, may be defined as the making of decisions, and decisions may be defined as choices which are expected to be supported against challengers by the use of

extreme deprivations (even death). In the U. S. the federal statute against kidnapping, for instance, is a decision because we expect it to be enforced by long imprisonment or worse. We do not need to use an intensive method like psychoanalysis to decide whether most of the inhabitants of the United States expect the statute to be enforced. A much less *intensive* procedure (like polling) can supply this information. The social sciences take as their point of departure a concise list of values and a battery of relatively *extensive* data-gathering procedures.

### THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

The best developed social science, for example, is the science of wealth or economics, which has had a commanding position since Adam Smith and the *Wealth of Nations* (Ricardo, Alfred Marshall, John Maynard Keynes are among the celebrated names). The data gathered and processed by economists are principally records of prices, volume of transactions, number of physical units offered for sale (from iron ore to heavy industrial products like locomotives, or durable consumer goods like radios, or immediate consumer goods like the services of the barber and the commodities provided by the provision store).

It is not my intention to devote much time to describing the social sciences, but it may make our subsequent task more intelligible if I call attention to the fact that the division of labor among social scientists does not fit any single logical scheme. Economics, as we have said, does focus upon the value *wealth*. But when you ask a political scientist what he studies, he will usually reply that he is concerned with government at the international, national, state, and local levels. Hence he speaks in terms of an *institution*. Only a limited group will say that they are studying the value *power*. Other specialists focus upon other institutions than government, notably the family, church, and school (these are frequently submerged under the general title of "sociologist"). Another division of social science activity tends to cut across *institutional* disciplines.

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In connection with every institution it is fruitful to distinguish between the subjective events typically involved (the myth) and the operations performed (technique). The subjective phenomena of government include political philosophies, formulas, slogans, key symbols, and streams of political communication. Included also is the growth of attitudes from early years through life. Scientists who specialize on such phenomena have much in common with scholars who deal with the corresponding processes in business, the church, and other institutions. At present there is a strong tendency for a new cross-discipline to develop under the name of social psychology; and this in turn separates into those who concentrate mainly on the intensive study of sample personalities, and those who deal with "public opinion," "mass communication," or "semantics." Another starting point of social scientific work is a *culture*, the entire institutional network of a significant group. ("Anthropology," "social anthropology," or "ethnology.") Also the frame of reference may be the *population* either in relation to space and resources (social geography) or biological characteristics (social biology). Finally, scholars who work on comprehensive *general theories* may be "sociologists" or "anthropologists." (3)

### A TASK FOR PSYCHOANALYSIS

In the perspective of the whole social process it is plain why every subject of psychoanalysis furnishes information that is important for the social sciences. Each individual occupies a determinate position in the structure of society, and his career line can be described according to the time spent at various levels. Analysis is especially concerned with bringing the personality structure of the individual into focus, taking note of psychotic or neurotic mechanisms, and aiding the person to health. Psychic and somatic well-being is one of the social values, and it is of consequence for society to connect the incidence of illness with whatever factors, especially social factors, may account for it. Is it true, for instance, that persons who have

been exposed to "middle" positions in the social structure are more subject to personality disorganization (including neurosis and psychosis) than those who have been born and reared in upper or lower social environments? Or that personality disorganization is closely connected with rising or falling, rather than continuity of position? It is not too difficult to describe the position of the individual and his family according to upper, middle, or lower wealth position; or according to upper, middle, or lower power (political) position; or in terms of upper, middle, or lower respect position. (The latter is often called "social class" in order to distinguish it from economic or political class.) It is often not so easy to classify a person according to the other values, chiefly through lack of thought about them (and lack of census data). But it is not difficult to estimate skill proficiency, reputation or rectitude (either in the positive sense of a moral leader, or in the negative sense of a professional criminal) and so forth.

At any position in the social structure the focus of attention is characteristically organized. Not only are personal contacts guided, but myths and techniques differ. Hence the *primary ego* is given more or less distinctive opportunities to organize a self characteristic of the environment by the process of making the appropriate *identifications*, incorporating the current *demands*, and accepting the prevailing *expectations*. We know, for instance, that some families do not allow their children to mix with the children of families of different status, while others are very tolerant in this matter. The code of loyalties, ideals and assumptions is very strictly defined in some aristocratic circles. Elsewhere the code is permissive and inclusive. Hence the contents of the superego are deeply affected by the frame of attention to which the developing person is exposed by his position in the social structure.

It is important to discover, not only the broad incidence of psychic malformation, but the specific nature of etiological factors in the environment. Hence the significance of scrutinizing in detail the frames of

attention that are organized at any given level of the structure of society.

We are, of course, interested not only in the sick and ineffective but in the well and effective; and every subject of psychoanalysis can provide useful information about the taking of social roles with success or failure.

It is theoretically possible to explore the entire institutional network of any society from the standpoint of psychoanalysis. The social environment at successive cross sections of the career line of the individual organizes his focus of attention, directing him to persons, operations, myths, and resources; and regulating his share of the available values according to the way he responds. For convenience we may classify all the patterns of culture into *mores*, *counter-mores*, and *expediences*. The test for a mores pattern is whether people are righteously indignant when confronted by a violation. The counter-mores are violations which are, nevertheless, expected to occur. In many American communities gambling, for instance, is counter-mores, but it is taken for granted that some gambling will be done. With this may be contrasted acts that contradict the mores standards but which are not expected to take place. It is not admitted that anybody who shares the culture can be so "inhuman" as to do such things. It is not *conduct* (acts that are part of culture) but *behavior*. (An example is brutal sexual abuse of a small child.) In contrast with mores and counter-mores, the expediences can be "put on" or "put off" by anybody at convenience.

These distinctions are roughly comparable for culture as a whole with the categories *ego*, *superego*, and *id* for the personality as a whole. And one of the most rewarding topics of investigation is how personality structures in a given community are related to expediences, mores, and counter-mores. In general, social order depends on the incorporation of the mores into the superego of most of the community. But in our complex civilization all degrees of relationship are found, including the

"pacifist" and "criminal" superego, in which counter-mores conduct is internally demanded.

#### WHERE PSYCHOANALYSIS IS UNNECESSARY

A great many of the relationships we are interested in do not require any new method of gathering data from psychoanalysts. Consider, for instance, the broad correlation between social structure and illness. The institutional records now available provide many data bearing on this. We have hospital records to which social workers as well as psychoanalytically trained physicians have contributed; and we have the medical records of educational institutions, industry, and the army. It may quite properly be objected that the categories used in such records lack the detail in delineating the illness that is desirable among psychoanalysts. But as a first approximation of the relation between trouble and environment, the present figures, if not definitive, are at least capable of being bettered by the steady improvement of hospital records.

It may also be objected that selective factors operate to conceal the full picture. In some environments there is a level of tolerance of deviational conduct and behavior that is missing elsewhere. The tolerant communities resort less often to hospitalization.

But there are ways of surveying the psychic health of entire populations, at least with a degree of refinement that permits gross separations to be made. Tests of many kinds are given to non-hospitalized groups in industry, the army, the schools, and elsewhere. And if there is doubt about the sample, skilled field work can go far in gaining the needed information.

Hence we cannot conclude that a new procedure should be brought into existence which would rely upon reporting by psychoanalysts to provide the data needed to establish broad correlations between social structure and illness.

#### DISCIPLINARY PROBLEMS

Much the same point applies when we move from the incidence of illness to disciplinary problems. Since all disciplinary problems do not depend on neurosis, psy-

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chosis, or pathological character formation, the data on disciplinary problems does not necessarily overlap with the data on the ill. Not all disciplinary conflicts imply that the person who suffers the discipline is the one who needs changing. Or, to put the point in more general terms, the values of a given society can be more fully achieved if the conception of what constitutes a disciplinary breach is modified.

The most striking instances are, of course, in the field of criminal law and public order. Conduct may be called criminal and sanctions may be initiated that result in no reduction in the incidence of the reprobated action. Yet there is no recruitment of prosecuting attorneys, judges, or legislators who break through the vicious repetition of fruitless conflict. The same point applies to discipline in the army, in the plant, in the office, in the home. Not the offender, but the "offended" is the true offender against the social interest, and new institutional routines are necessary if the situation is to be redefined.

Disciplinary records at least show points and zones of tension, stress, and insecurity in the workings of society. If available records of illness are defective, I ought to point out that our regular reports on "discipline" are in an even more rudimentary state. But this does not mean that we turn to the psychoanalysts to provide the data. We have instruments of observation capable of providing a fairly full and dependable picture of the tension-insecurity level of any community. It is possible to explore each institution and to find where the clashes come. (This, of course, must be done by sampling methods, since the number of such situations in the nation or world as a whole is astronomical.) In factories, for instance, tension is reflected in all sorts of direct and indirect ways: discharges for cause, individual complaints, absenteeism, quarrelsomeness, collective protest, slow work, suspensions of work, job abandonment; arrogance in giving commands; neglect of appreciation for work well done; failure to explain the purpose of a regulation; failure to adopt innovations thru jeal-

ousy of the advancement of another (such as failure to redesign a product, select new materials, adopt new machinery, new plant layout, realign inspection, arrange for better timing of component materials, adopt low pricing policy to reduce cost of production and also to enlarge the market).

### A NEW CULTURE PATTERN

In considering the tension-insecurity level, note that there are (a) recognized clashes, and (b) little-recognized destructive practices. Some of the unrecognized sources can be revealed and changed by proper application of economic, engineering and administrative analysis and invention. But one great source of unseen loss can only be fully disclosed by the use of psychoanalysis. Every psychoanalysis brings to light many ways in which tension-insecurity in human relations has been heightened by the working of factors into which the person has a minimum of insight. Thanks to the clash of various means of protecting the ego, as Horney has pointed out, the neurotic pattern of behavior is generalized throughout the personality. Hence we have the spectacle of a business man who has driven his business to ruin by unwillingness to listen to the advice of younger men; a government official whose department has steadily dwindled because of the official's timidity in dealing with the chief executive, with politicians, with pressure group leaders, with the press; a physician who damages his patients and himself by becoming a back number, thanks to unliquidated hatred of his profession; and so on.

Now it is important for society as a whole to have a stream of authentic information of the kind alluded to. Candor in self-observation is not limited to the psychoanalytic interview or the clinic, as it has been one of Horney's great services to emphasize. The method of free association can be fruitfully used all during the life of the person who has experienced analysis; and in some cases, it may usefully be indulged in even without the training period. We are developing a new culture pattern when we spread skill in self-observation by the use of free association; this method carries with it the



potentiality of a revolutionary reconstruction which only the masters of depth psychology can fully understand. For skill in disclosing the unacknowledged, in bringing into the open the jealousies, hatreds, timidities, illicit affections, and the like, is essential to the fullest enlightenment. We know that the mind is at its best when it uses logical processes to interpret reality, and employs free association methods to bring reality about the self into full waking awareness.

The giving of currency to material of this kind aids in the diffusion of realistic ways of using the mind. It does so by providing a group of sponsors with whom one can identify in the common pursuit of enlightenment. It provides a perpetual reminder of the waste and inefficiency that comes from failure to use the instruments which modern scientific advance has made available.

If the permeation of society is to be accelerated, we need to provide a stream of material with which as many elements as possible in society can identify themselves. We require a large body of material which is related to the major skill groups in our society, the hundreds of professional and occupational categories that make up the enormously subdivided civilization in which we live. We need it from the experience of and for judges, lawyers, business executives, engineers, editors, reporters, teachers, and others.

To be most effective the reported material from psychoanalysts needs to be elaborate enough to show (a) the negative results of deficient insight (b) the process of association by which insight appeared and, possibly, (c) the change, with insight, in the human relations involved. The importance of (b) is that it is a continuous reminder of the method; and I don't need to remind you of the grave obstacles against the use of the methods which are often erected, even after analytic training. Unless there is some reminder of the way in which the insight came, there is a tendency to overlook the procedure and to take the report only at its anecdotal value.

As things stand at present, material of this kind is seeping or flowing into the vast network of communication represented by the daily press, radio broadcasts, trade and professional journals, films. A few days ago I took a quick look, see, and listen to remind myself of the amount of satisfactory material now reaching various publics. I went through the metropolitan newspapers of New York. There was not a single example of the kind of reporting I am now referring to. The closest approach was in a column on child-rearing. But the writer spoke didactically about how to cope with a temper tantrum, and said nothing about how to give anybody any insight into it, whether child or mother. And on the business pages where investors and executives turn for information, there was nothing remotely resembling a reminder of the attitude that permits insight. A quick check of the radio programs revealed nothing, although there were a few didactic lectures on psychology. The week's supply of news-magazines and opinion magazines were devoid of relevant content, although a few references were made to the importance of psychiatry in the war and in the postwar reconversion of veterans. The fictional content had nothing beyond slick action stories. Even the magazines allegedly devoted to psychology and to life problems were full of uplifting lectures with a paucity of material that called the reader to put himself into the productive frame of mind that creates the raw material of insight.

#### A PLAN FOR COOPERATION

It is quite possible, of course, that pertinent materials will eventually find their way into the enlightenment channels of modern civilization. More and more members of the community are being psychoanalyzed, and making continual use of genuine free association. There are more training courses in scientific and applied psychology in which these methods are to some extent included. Psychoanalysts provide more and more examples of what we are talking about in their journals, and in the semi-popular lectures and articles which they

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produce. In principle I am speaking of no novelty; rather, I am outlining the possibility of speeding along the spread of a relatively new and very important pattern of civilization. Something like the following might be done: Cooperating analysts would send relevant material to a center from which it would be put into circulation in media where it would reach particular audiences. The editor of a technical or trade association magazine has, perhaps, been psychoanalyzed and recognizes that unconscious impulses of destructiveness may be disclosed and checked by the use of free association as a continuing skill. He may therefore agree to utilize such material, and bring it to the focus of attention of his constituency. There are many possible ways of presenting the information which may safely be left to the experts in communication.

The cooperating analysts would not need to be given a detailed list of occupations, professions, and social roles, although a suggestive one could be used. (So far as minor breakdowns are concerned there are two census volumes full of names!) Analysts should feel free, however, to go beyond the list to report and recommend the study of many other social roles. Take the "young matron" group, for instance. An extremely valuable body of material appropriate for the young matrons could be accumulated, and would doubtless be of use to many of them in avoiding the kinds of destructive tension so often created in the process of adapting to this social role.

The first suggestion for a new procedure of gathering data from the practitioners of psychoanalysis, then, is that they make available authentic fragments of the associative process by which individuals obtained insight into destructive tension-insecurity producing practices in selected social situations. The chief usefulness of this material is only indirectly scientific. To the extent that it raises the general level of enlightenment, it creates an environment in which the data of social science as well as psychoanalysis will have an impact on policy.

But with a little more effort the transmission belt from the analysts can be brought into more direct relation to social science.

A convenient first step is the asking of good questions prepared in consultation with social scientists. The questions can ask the psychoanalysts what their theory and experience have led them to think is true about the impact of various social factors upon personality. What the psychoanalysts say is worth far more, for example, than the testimony of laymen. This expert testimony can be of great aid to the social scientist in sharpening his hypotheses and directing him to the investigation of specific social situations. In addition, analysts can be asked to submit case summaries; and such summaries are themselves data of great importance. If enough analysts cooperate, some of the bodies of data will be large enough to justify quantitative study.

Many questions are appropriate: in fact, the number is inexhaustible. For instance, what are the more intimate and elusive tension problems arising among war brides and their husbands and families? Or the crippled veteran? Or the child who is unsupervised by a male parent (or parent substitute)? Or the Negro, Mexican, Japanese who undertakes to rise in our culture?

Most of the matters mentioned thus far have not involved the power-myths of society in a way that is likely to diminish the reliability of the analyst as an observer. But there are certain important issues that may be difficult for the psychoanalysts to study, chiefly because of fear that his findings will be misinterpreted and used to injure the kinds of social policy that he favors. An example is the study of revolutionary, or at least disaffected personalities; or even of reactionaries and conservatives. Since the rejecting of the dominant myth may be part of a general upheaval against the authoritative pattern communicated in home and school, and since the origin of the opposition to authority may be revealed in types of association that are popularly supposed to "reflect against" the individual, the dissemination of authentic material of this kind may be viewed with alarm, since it may be snatched as propaganda to discredit the motives of all who possess corresponding political attitudes. Some analysts, however, will be willing to circulate such material, be-

believing that it is more important to spread candor than to censor information on behalf of the power struggles of the moment. But there will be a genuine clash of view; and it is important to bring this out in the clear and to refrain from attempting to bring anybody into a form of activity that is repugnant to him.

It is taken for granted in this discussion that psychoanalysis will continue to perfect its theoretical structure, and analysts will continue to publish case material that bears on the theory of personality formation and deformation. This is the core of knowledge which justifies the use of psychoanalytic modes of studying human beings. It is also taken for granted that psychoanalytic theories will continue to influence other medical sciences and the social sciences in this way in the future as they have in the past. The question before us is not whether these activities are to be abandoned or in any way weakened, but, on the contrary, whether the net impact of psychoanalysis on science and on enlightenment can be increased.

But at this point we come up against the pressure on the time of the psychoanalyst. He is not only busy with his therapy, but as a trained physician, he typically expects to gain professional respect by contributing to the literature in which diseases are analyzed and therapeutic devices are tested. Training in the political, economic, and other social sciences is usually absent, or if not absent, dates back to pre-med days (and the obsolescence rate is high in the social as well as the physical sciences). The principal exception is when there is close association with preventive medicine and public health. But it is only now that a rapprochement is beginning between public health and the analysts of culture. Up to the present it is fair to say that public health has triumphed by using technical knowledge and social institutions to fight the diseases traceable to non-psychogenic processes. The whole field of culture and disease remains to be explored.

Therefore, we can dismiss the suggestion that all analysts maintain a record of each patient, together with interpretations, for

filing at some scientific headquarters. Given the present difficulties of recording and selecting, the pressure of time is too urgent.

We rest content in proposing an extension to peacetime of some features of the cooperation among widely distributed practitioners which was somewhat successful during the war. Surely the continuing crises of peace are worthy of our attention no less than the eruptions of war.

For more intensive cooperation between psychoanalysts and social scientists, special programs will be necessary. Such programs will make possible the development of teams composed of properly equipped professionals who are in possession of each relevant skill. These programs can be integrated with community studies, and with the needs of industry, government and other institutions. Fruitful work has already been done by research teams of analysts and social scientists, such as Abraham Kardiner and his associates at Columbia.

Even when these arrangements have been made the greatest contribution of psychoanalysis to the understanding of society will continue to be, not the generalizations, but the *method* of free association. The method is capable of elevating the level of enlightenment throughout society, and of providing the data needed to check the adequacy of any particular theory.

#### CONCLUSION

Our discussion can be summarized as follows: Social science is concerned with the values pursued in human societies, and the institutions (myths, techniques) used in the shaping and distribution of values. It is impossible for a psychoanalytically studied case to fail to produce information which constitutes potential data for the social sciences, since the career line of each subject is to some extent representative of many careers and situations. The cooperation of the psychoanalytic profession can contribute to general enlightenment—and an environment congenial to the social sciences—by *making available for public use authentic examples of how tension-insecurity producing tendencies can be discovered and ameliorated by free association*. Further-

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more, psychoanalysts can serve on an *expert jury to report their best judgment concerning the impact of institutions on personality*, and in this way stimulate and guide social scientific research. *Case summaries can provide supporting data*, even to the point of disclosing the connection between all institutional patterns (mores, counter-mores, expediciencies) and the structure of the personalities exposed to, and interacting

upon, them (id, superego, ego). The discussion assumes that in addition to data which might be obtained from the entire profession, much can be done by *research teams* composed of analysts and social scientists. It is assumed, however, that the great bulk of psychoanalytic publication and influence will have to do with the explanation and therapy of disease.

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HAROLD D. LASSWELL

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## LANDMARKS IN THE STUDIES OF DREAM-INTERPRETATION DURING THE PAST HALF CENTURY

PAUL LUSSHEIMER \*

**P**SYCHOLOGICAL interest in dreams dates back to the times of the classical antiquity. The approach to the understanding of the meaning of dreams is best illustrated in a study of Aristotle. During dreams, according to his opinion, faint stimuli of waking life appear reinforced and the physician in cognizance of this phenomenon may be able to interpret them as premonitors of pathological changes. The reappearance in dreams of affects and ideas predominating in waking life is like the thawing of frogs frozen in a crust of ice.

During the middle ages and later up to the end of the 18th Century, attention was paid to causation of dreams and the main approach was a somatological rather than a psychological one. This trend continued through the 19th and even into the 20th Century; it finds its climax in Wilhelm Wundt's statement that "dream images are initiated to the largest extent by sensory impressions" and are "predominantly fantastic illusions and probably to a lesser degree real memory images raised to the intensity of hallucinations." (32)

The student in the field of dreams who wants to dig deeper into the variety of ideas expressed from ancient days up to our time finds most valuable material in R. L. Woods' recently-published anthology *The World of Dreams*. (31)

By the end of the 18th century the opinion was voiced for the first time that the dream must be more than a reaction to real memory images and to sensory impressions. There were widely different opinions, as Freud shows in his historical survey. (8)

It was Freud's acute observation that must be credited with the opening of a new vista into the world of dreams.

### SIGMUND FREUD

Freud's new approach to the interpretation of dreams started from his findings concerning the laws that govern unconscious mental activity. As quoted from Peck's *Meaning of Psychoanalysis* (28), these are:

1. That there is no time relation in the unconscious, and entirely other considerations determine cause and effect;
  2. Fantasy is indistinguishable from reality; potential attitude or deed is equivalent to the actual one;
  3. There is no consistency in the unconscious; contradictory and opposing attitudes can exist side by side;
  4. The symbolic competes with the actual and is interchangeable with it.
- Applying these laws to the study of dreams, Freud found that a dream means much more than a reaction to immediately preceding experiences. The language of the dream is an expression of that part of

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ourselves that is kept from awareness in conscious life; dreams follow the same laws which govern the unconscious. Understanding the language of the dream contributes considerably to the knowledge of the hidden trends and drives of the personality.

With the application of the idea that "the dream interpretation is in reality the *Via Regia* to the knowledge of the unconscious, the safest basis of psychoanalysis" (10), "analysis has taken the step from a psychotherapeutic method to depth psychology." (11)

Thus the dream becomes a purely psychic phenomenon. "The dream is not a somatic but a psychic phenomenon." (9) The significance of its contents does not seem apparent to the dreamer; though "the dreamer . . . knows what his dream means he does not know that he knows it and therefore believes that he does not know it." (9)

Two methods may be used to reveal the real significance of a dream:

1. Direct interpretation;
2. The free associative method of thought.

The use of one only, especially of the first, may not exhaust the material presented in a dream. "The dream as remembered is not the real thing at all but a distorted substitute which, by calling up other substitute ideas provides us with the means of approaching the thought proper, of bringing into consciousness the unconscious thoughts underlying the dream." (9) The application of free association makes it possible to find the seemingly lost elements of the dream. "We call what one used to call the dream the 'Dream Text' or the manifest dream and what we search for, so-to-say guess to be hidden behind the dream, the latent dream thoughts. . . We have to transform the manifest into the latent dream and to indicate how in the psychic life of the dreamer the latter becomes the former." (11)

This procedure, called "Dream Work" by Freud, reveals the processes taking place in a dream. A censorship is at work,

result of our education, which causes various forms of dream distortion, e.g.:

1. Condensation—i.e. the manifest dream is a "kind of abbreviated translation of the latent;" (11)

2. Displacement—substitution of a part of a latent dream thought for another; or shifting of the accent in a dream from important to unimportant parts.

3. Secondary elaboration—"a quasi rationalizing activity . . . to provide the dream with a smooth facade" (11) by filling in ideas where gaps seem to exist and by the invention of interpolations. Thoughts appear in dreams in visual images. Occasionally a transformation into the opposite occurs. Certain features in the dream may not be understood by free association; these are the "silent dream elements." (9) They have to be understood and interpreted as "symbols of the unconscious dream thought" and require "constant translations . . . just as in popular books we find such translations for everything that occurs in dreams. . . Symbols are almost exclusively used to represent sexual objects and relations." (9) Freud considers symbolism the most remarkable part of his theory of dreams.

In joining together all the parts of his dream-theory, he comes to the conclusion that the real thought underlying "any dream is wish-fulfillment." (8)

The mechanisms operating in dreams have been explained by Freud on the basis of his views on the psychic apparatus; he divides the latter into three units: the Id, the Ego, and the Superego. The Ego that establishes the connection with the outer world "severs this connection from time to time and withdraws into the sleeping state." (12) The sleeping Ego has the wish to maintain this state of sleep and to hold off all influences that might interfere with it. Two sources of interference have to be coped with: impulses originating from and expressing wishes of the Id, and wishes existing in the Ego but below the threshold of awareness. Both kinds of wishes are more or less unconscious during waking life but affect the Ego while the

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individual is asleep. Since it is the policy of the Ego to prevent disturbance of sleep at all costs, it is willing to play the role of the appeaser who eliminates the disturbance "by apparent compliance . . . in responding to the demands with a wish-fulfillment that seems to be harmless under the prevailing circumstances." (10, 12)

### ALFRED ADLER

In contrast to Freud who considers wish-fulfillment, especially in the sexual sphere, as the essence of the dream and whose thinking is purely causal, Adler thinks of the dream as an expression of the tendency to safeguard the "leading line" of the personality. Not sex but power drives are in the foreground and in order to understand a dream, thinking in finalistic terms is used. Adler to whom the unconscious is only an "artifice of the psyche"—in contrast to Freud's concept of the unconscious consisting of repressed material—states that the dream "indicates how the dreamer feels emotionally toward an imminent problem. . . His character trends and their neurotic deviations become manifest." (2) Dream is a fiction and is used as a "preliminary test, a warning or an encouragement oriented towards a fictitious goal of life." (1) This orientation is always influenced by tendencies to safeguard against difficulties which possibly might arise. Dream censorship serves this purpose. "The neurotic striving for power appears in a dream most frequently in a picture of striving towards an 'above' or of the masculine protest. The feminine or 'lower level of operation' is always indicated." (2)

In striving for superiority the dreamer utilizes effective memories for his purpose. "The neurotic does not suffer from his recollections but he creates them." (1) "Symbolism and the artifice of analogy are the psychic superstructure over a juncture of a psychic situation with a memory. . . They help to bring about the resonance demanded by the 'idea'." (2) Adler, in his later writings (3), claims that the dream serves the purpose of solving, during sleep, problems which cannot be

solved in waking life. The feelings the dream leaves behind, not the contents of the dream, are most important. Since in dreams the acute problems of the individual do not appear as part of the complexity of real life, the solutions will be found more easily.

### CARL GUSTAV JUNG

In order to understand the principles of Jung's dream interpretation, two of the fundamental ideas of his teaching have to be mentioned: the concept of the complex and the theory of the unconscious.

Complexes are effectively stressed contents that result "from the collision of a demand for adjustment with the qualification of the individual unfit to cope with this demand." (2) They function "arbitrarily and autonomously, thus leading a life of their own in the dark space of the unconscious from where they can hinder or further conscious acts at any time." (22) In his Association Tests, Jung studied how these complexes influence the human mind by giving stimulus words and evaluating the response words.

In the dream the stimulus word is replaced by something derived from the mental life of the dreamer, from sources unknown to him, and hence may very possibly be itself a "derivative of a complex' . . ." (9)

In contrast to Freud and Adler, in Jung's theory the unconscious consists of two parts, the personal unconscious comprising the repressed material, and the collective unconscious, "the mighty spiritual inheritance of human development, reborn in every individual constitution." (22)

While Freud's way of dream interpretation is purely causal and Adler's purely finalistic, Jung has a relativistic approach to the problem; he stresses the importance of "conditionalism" (Max Verworn's term for relativistic thinking) because at different times different problems predominate in man's mind and an interpretation focusing on sex or power drives must fail. "The dream is the spontaneous self-presentation of the actual situation of the unconscious in a symbolical form." (22) It describes very

often "the inner situation of the dreamer whose truth and reality the conscious does not want to accept, or only reluctantly." (4)

Where for Freud the dream has wish-fulfilling and for Adler safe-guarding tendencies, it has, in Jung's thinking, a compensatory significance. Compensation is "a basic capacity of the unconscious . . . derived from general human experience and conforming to internal laws, thereby making possible an adequate adjustment based on the totality of the psyche." (18)

The dream, as the speaker of the unconscious, becomes a medium for this compensatory function. In going beyond personal problems, it is a means of expressing to the conscious mind unconscious tendencies and forces concerning the whole human collective; thus it does reductive and constructive work simultaneously. The foregoing shows that three major forces mold the structure of the dream; the conscious, the personal unconscious, and the collective unconscious. But the conscious is deprived of its distorting tendencies by the strong forces of the unconscious. The dream is a picture of "inner truth and reality, uncensored. . ." (19) (in contrast to the idea of dream censorship in Freud and Adler).

The premise on which Jung's dream interpretation is founded permits one to see more in the dream than a message about the past and an expression of a present constellation; the dream may have anticipating character, may be prophetic in nature. But for the understanding of a dream, it is usually insufficient to draw conclusions from one single dream, one has to study a series of dreams and to know that they are grouped around a "center of significance." In their external structure most dreams show similarity, which Jung likened to the basic structure of the Greek drama (time, place, *dramatis personae*, exposition, *peripetia* and *lysis*). Figures and situations may have twofold significance: They may belong to the objective level and in interpreting what they mean, the following principle is valid: "not the object one dreams about is meant but one's own relation to the object." (5) Or they may belong to the sub-

jective level which "interprets all dream figures and situations symbolically, i.e., as images of inner psychic factors and situations of the dreamer." (5)

Symbolism is the most important medium in the language of the dream. It expresses what ordinary language cannot express, either in the dream to the dreamer himself or satisfactorily to the interpreter in the dreamer's report. This insight gave Jung the idea of having dreamers make drawings of what in spite of his method of amplification was inexpressible in words.

Amplification instead of free association is used in Jung's attempt to come to the roots of the dream. Similar or analogous images coming up in the dreamer as well as in the interpreter in connection with the dream report are utilized where "scanty hints have to be filled out and broadened by psychological context in order to be made intelligible." (19)

Jung's concept of dreams widens the perspective under which the secrets of the soul can be studied. The "boundless freedom of dream-life" (4) is comprehended in its variety of expression, "a little secret portal to the most interior and intimate parts of the soul. . ." (4)

#### OTTO RANK

Otto Rank has distinguished himself as a co-worker of Freud in the field of dream studies. His two papers "Poetry and Dream" and "Myth and Dream" were originally part of Freud's book, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, but were eliminated by Freud from the eighth edition after Rank's secession.

Two factors in Rank's teachings have special significance for his evaluation of dreams: his ideas on "will" and those on "illusions." Rank added to Freud's concepts of instinct and anxiety as a third essential factor the *individual will* which he considers as a control organ. He emphasizes the primarily negative character of the will structure. This negative side of the will shows itself as a "wanting not to will things which are forced upon an individual from without or from within." (29) In contrast to Freud's wish-fulfillment idea,



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Rank characterizes the dream as an assertion of the will. "Dreaming expresses that the patient wants to do the whole thing himself;" (29) in the production of dreams the patient, especially in the terminal phase of analysis, returns to the original function of the dream as a self-regulating mechanism in order to regain his independence from the analyst. The expression of will contained in dreams points to the ability of the individual to make identical use of his will in waking life.

According to Rank, man cannot live merely on his biological life plane and this causes the existence of illusions in everyone. In contrast to the collective or at least socially acceptable illusions of the normal, illusions of the neurotic are irrational. The "inner illusion of modern man is the plane of feeling which permits inner experience without contact with the outer life." The neurotic learns in analysis to create an illusion "in which all experiencing takes place potentially without actually happening: if we accept this premise, then we understand the significance of dream life during analysis." (29)

All analytic dreams are, so to speak, a dream within the dream, since the analytic situation corresponds with life elevated to the plane of an illusion which in turn is symbolically represented in the dream. Thus the dream in analysis can symbolize either the psychoanalytic situation as such or the feeling of the dreamer or life, as represented in analysis like in a play." (29)

### WILHELM STEKEL

Stekel who, like Adler, Jung and Rank, was first a close collaborator of Freud but later founded his own school of psychoanalysis, like those named here and many others, deserves mentioning especially because of his influence on Freud when the latter did his work on dream interpretation. He pointed out that among the neurotics he saw, all were suffering from a conflict between impulse and inhibition but found that repressed sexuality was not the only cause of neuroses. He enlarged Freud's concept by adding the concept of a group of neurotics whose repression was in the moral

and religious rather than in the sexual sphere. In addition, he described mixed types who have repressed both sexual and moral inclinations. Dreams are strongly determined by the nature of the repression. In explaining the significance of dreams, Stekel calls the dream "a sign-post which shows the way to the life conflict . . . Every dream is a confession, a resurrection of the suppressed, an outcrop of hidden truth." (30)

### RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

Among the multitude of publications on dreams, there are only a few that do not follow orthodoxly the concepts of Freud, Adler or Jung.

Karl Menninger while accepting Freud's idea of the dream as wish-fulfillment, emphasizes that "the word 'wish' is apt to be taken in too narrow a sense. Dreams serve the purpose of allaying or forestalling anxiety that . . . may arise from external or internal conditions . . . Dreams also set forth, at times, the dawning of insight into the patient's own actual condition, or his psychoanalytic situation." (27)

Aeppli (5), a close follower of Jung, is even more emphatic than Jung himself concerning the value of symbols in dream interpretation and expresses this by devoting more than one-half of his book to a minute study of the meaning of symbols.

Kardiner adheres in general to Freud's teachings; he feels, however, that the fact that "Freud had to devise a notational system and to bind the events described into a meaningful relationship . . . created the greatest difficulty and confusion. Psychology has at its disposal no such notational system as exists in mathematics and can be put to use in physics." (25)

Much in contrast to this idea stands J. W. Dunne's opinion. In his study *An Experiment with Time* (followed by *The Serial Universe* and *The New Immortality* in which he elaborated on his first hypothesis), Dunne tries to explain dreams by using the methods of mathematics and of Newtonian physics. His system of "serialism" is built up on the idea that "if Time passes or grows or expands itself or does anything

whatsoever except stand rigid and changeless before a Time-fixed observer, there must be another Time which times that activity of, or along, the first Time, and another Time which times that second Time, and so on in an apparent series of infinity. . . Throughout your dream you think about that dream, just as you think about your sensory experiences in waking life. . . Examination of your dream thinking and dream remembering shows that, though your brain is asleep, you as the ultimate observer of your series, try to continue both observing and remembering in the same three-dimensional fashion as you do when the brain is awake. . . ." (7)

This concept (contrary to the principles of the relativity theory) is strengthened by the application of Newton's laws: the existence of a multiple Time experience is applied by Dunne to make the coinciding of past and present in a dream understandable; he even goes further and tries to explain the prophetic character of dreams in applying this concept.

Jastrow complains that dream studies became a field "of the psychoanalyst rather than of the psychologist. . . Psychology cannot turn over the study of dreams to psychoanalysts. . ." (20) Whether Jastrow's complaint is justified and whether the point complained about had actually an influence on the development of dream studies, is hard to say. In reviewing some of the textbooks on modern psychology (Harriman, Sargent, Woodworth, and others), no evidence could be found for the justification of Jastrow's complaint in any one direction.

Of more recent date among studies on dreams is the book of Poul Bjerre; starting from Freud's dream theory, he tries to work out a new concept on a biological-synthetic basis. In his book *Dreaming as a Road of Healing for the Soul*, he states: "Whether an experience is assimilated, is best revealed by the circumstance that it no longer exerts an inhibiting and disturbing influence on the course of life, especially not on the process of renewal toward which all life is directed due to its inherent forces." (6)

The dream is an indicator as well as a

helper in this process towards assimilation. The past experience has to be worked out by the individual so that it loses its foreign-body character and becomes an integral part of the present life. To accomplish this, the human mind operates along physiological lines: "as we chew our food, so we ruminate what happens to us. The more difficult the digestion of an experience, the greater the danger that the rumination becomes an interminable grinding. . . Dream formation is the meeting point between the forces of the I and of the cosmos. . . 'What Man does' and 'What happens to him' join here in a particular way." (6)

The road to assimilation takes place in steps. Bjerre points out that these steps find their expression in dreams and that in therapeutic procedure understanding of these steps is of utmost importance. He describes "12 steps of dream work," namely:

1. Shaping
2. Connecting
3. Awakening
4. Decision
5. Objectivation
6. Separation
7. Negation
8. Uplifting
9. Identification
10. Revaluation
11. Transformation of feeling
12. Assimilation

The process begins with "shaping," i.e., dreams in which a conflict or any other situation is presented in a spontaneous and in no way pre-arranged form. (6) The first metamorphosis finds its expression in what Bjerre calls "connecting:" the unconscious in the dream makes the past an actuality so that the past is connected with the present. In the further development the highlights of metamorphosis are the phases of "re-evaluation" and "transformation of feeling;" they represent the preparatory phases for the final step of "assimilation." Once the latter step is reached, the person has "dreams that show that the cooperation between 'what Man does' and 'what happens to him' has reached its final goal: the experience has undergone its complete metamor-

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phosis and has been shaped so that it can blend organically with and become an integral part of the I." (6)

Horney considers Freud's "working hypothesis that dreams are the expression of wish-fulfilling tendencies . . ." as Freud's "most important contribution on this score." A dream often gives the clue to the existing dynamics if, after its latent content is understood, one considers what tendency the dream expresses and what underlying need made it necessary to express that particular tendency." (14) The danger in following the "royal road to the unconscious" is, according to Horney, that it "is easily lost if there is not full knowledge of all the territory around it . . . Interpretation may . . . degenerate into intellectual guess work, even if the dream is seemingly transparent." (15)

Horney points out the two-fold function of the dream:

1. "... Dreams are an important source of information, but only one among several . . ." They are an "expression of tendencies. 'Wishful thinking' is likely to lie in the purport rather than in the explicit content. Dreams . . . give voice to our strivings, our needs, and often represent attempts at a solution of conflicts bothering us at the time . . ." By connecting the actual provocation that stimulated a dream with the latter, "we learn about experiences that represent a threat or an offense and the unconscious reactions they elicit." (15)

2. "In neuroses the most important function of dreams is the attempt to find either reassurance for an anxiety or compromise solutions for conflicts insoluble in real life. If such an attempt fails, an anxiety dream may ensue." (14)

The anxiety dream is "the royal road to the uncovering of our conflicts." (17) The dreamer expresses in his anxiety dream helplessness, powerlessness, resourcelessness which are the result of his feeling caught between emerging impulses he had not been aware of, and his idealized image.

In his paper "A New Approach to Dream Interpretation" (26) Harold Kelman elaborates on Horney's hypothesis that "dreams are attempts at solution." In applying Hor-

ney's concept of the character structure and the method of dialectic thinking, he points out that "dreaming is a piece of living" and that "living as a solution to the fact of life implies many compromises."

There are two forms of compromises and consequently two forms of solution:

1. Rational compromises leading to valid solutions, resulting in growth and real satisfaction of the individual. In dreams, anxiety expresses "the patient's ability and courage to chance anxiety evoking situations." This mechanism is an expression of constructive forces.

2. Irrational compromises, i.e., those arrived at by "neurotic logic" whose chief aim is living with less pain, no matter at what price, is a weakening of the total personality and at best a pseudo-satisfaction. In this case anxiety is directed towards those conflicts which the person does not want to face but to avoid. These invalid solutions express destructive tendencies operating in the individual.

Both rational and irrational attempts at solution appear in dreams simultaneously just as they do in life situations. The dream contents cannot be considered as a summary of a person's life experience, but are rather shaped by them; it is therefore important to study the dream in context of the dreamer's situation. "The only criterion for the validity of an interpretation thus far available is the confirmation of consequent events." (26)

### COMMENT

In the fifty years since Freud began his work on dream interpretation, there is still—in spite of innumerable other studies in the field—only his own statement of the dream as the *Via Regia* to the unconscious which is valid beyond doubt.

What else we find in literature are more or less unproven assumptions and it seems that the purely philosophical and psychological approach will suffice just as little to find the real answer as the purely physiological one that has been tried in the past. Man will have to be studied in his totality and, once sufficient progress has been made in

the many fields concerned with the study of human nature, a compilation of the various accomplishments in these studies will lead towards a definite answer to the dream problem.

Going through the literature of the last fifty years, this is what stands out in the trends revealed in the dream studies of those who were mentioned in this paper and have become the exponents in the field.

Freud and Adler in narrowing down their systems of dreams to the concepts of wish-fulfillment and will-to-power respectively, force the dream interpreter to search for awareness of things that are not expressed in every dream; furthermore certain dream elements cannot be squeezed into the preconceived pattern.

Menninger's idea that the word "wish" should not be understood in too narrow a sense, expresses the dissatisfaction of an adherent of the Freudian school but puts too much emphasis on the idea of the "wish" and too little on that of the "fulfillment."

Horney, in discussing the concept of dreams and fantasies as a way to keep affects from awareness, states that "this concept will probably prove to be even more fruitful if we enlarge it to make it also comprise unconscious illusions." (14) In pursuing this idea, one feels that while the idea of the "wish" in the widest sense possible is fully acceptable as one expression of the dream but not the only one, the concept of "fulfillment" has a much more confining effect on dream understanding. It precludes the presence of the counteracting forces from a dream and makes it necessary that auxiliary devices (distortions, censorship) be used by the interpreter in order to come closer to the truth.

Jung discards the auxiliary devices, negates the existence of dream distortion and censorship and feels that the dream says what it means and wants to say. But by introducing the concept of the collective unconscious and making the dream also a speaker for the latter, he leads us into a *terra incognita* and increases the dangers already lurking on the royal road.

The progress in Jung's system consists

of the emphasis put on the context in which the dream occurs. This consideration of contextual elements becomes even more evident in Kelman's approach. He shows us that past life experiences are influential in determining the manner in which an individual reacts to new experiences. Without proper understanding of the context, one cannot realize what 'attempts at solution' the unconscious wants to try. In other words: we have to understand the past and the present in order to prognosticate possible moves in the future.

Bjerre also correlates the past and the present, but in his concept we see a similar danger of an overemphasis on the past as also exists in Freud's concept. In addition, the use of a rather mechanistic way of thinking, and his assumptions without proper proof, make his ideas very problematic.

One thing that strikes us when studying dream publications from the various schools of analytic thinking, is the great similarity of the dream contents as far as patients of analysts belonging to the same school are concerned; but there are great differences between dreams of patients of one school and those of another. This seems to be good proof of how strongly the dream content is influenced by the psychoanalytic experience.

It has been shown beyond any doubt that the 'character structure' (Horney) finds its expression in dreams. (16) (18) In dream interpretations of the past this factor has never been stressed sufficiently, not so much because it was not evident but because our knowledge of character structure was rather incomplete before Horney's contribution.

#### CONCLUSION

Studying the dream literature, one becomes aware of the incompleteness of our knowledge but realizes how important a proper dream interpretation will become as a diagnostic means, once a greater clarity exists in this field.

We learned from the concepts of the past that dream interpretation limited by narrow boundaries means considerable loss of valuable material. What we need is a far-reaching concept that permits an approach



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free from undue bias and preconceived notions. This only will make us see why and how the unconscious reacts to the conscious as well as to its own experiences and makes use of past, present, and a possible future, as it does.

The concept presented by Horney and elaborated on by Kelman widens the orbit and has in its favor the inclusion of Horney's ideas on "constructive forward-moving versus destructive retarding forces in an individual." The latter idea is not and should not become a mathematical formula:

it is and has to remain a psychological tool in the study of dreams, but its utility can be enhanced by a thorough study of the analytic situation along the same line which is being used in dream studies.

Widening of the concept of dreams will permit the giving up of arbitrary and unproven aids, like dream distortions, the concept of censorship, and also the mystical concept of the collective unconscious. It will permit a dynamic interpretation of "symbols" and liberate this valuable material from its "dream-book" character.

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## THE RETARDING FORCES IN ANALYTIC TREATMENT

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ANY study of the retarding forces which operate to block the patient from recovery must begin with a clear concept of their function, since we cannot accept as adequate Freud's opinion that they were due to the patient's "insistence on living out childhood repressions," or "overly strong instinctual drives." The function of retarding forces, as we see it, is to protect and maintain the pseudo-solutions which have for the patient the value of enabling him somehow to hold himself together and to go on living. This is best expressed as: "What every patient really wants at first when he comes to you is to have a bigger and better neurosis." That is, to maintain his righteous indignation against people without antagonizing them; to attain his neurotic goals (his pseudo-solutions) with fewer inhibitions and inconveniences. He struggles to maintain the only things he sees as safe—his pseudo-solutions, which he thinks of as his achievements and his only sources of safety. He wishes the analyst's attention to be directed to those who annoy him, to inconveniences and obstacles which stand in the way of a more successful achievement of his pseudo-solutions. The *retarding forces* are those forces with which he opposes anything which might lead to the removal of the pseudo-solutions, any attack on them, exposure of them, any revelations as to their

real nature. The violence and tenacity with which he is driven to use the retarding forces are determined by the extent to which a particular solution is being relied upon by him, by the acuteness of his need for it, or by the amount of rage and terror he feels when this solution is about to be denied him, or be undermined.

### MOST-VALUED SOLUTION

During the long period at the outset of analysis, the patient will meet all interpretations in the spirit of his *avored* or *most valued solution*. Whether interpretations are accepted or refused will depend on whether or not they are disturbing to the maintenance of this solution, and the retarding forces will be used in efforts to maintain this solution. In one patient, whose enormous claims on the world had driven her to a point where her only attitudes were hopelessness and dependency, the retarding forces with which she met all observations of fact, interpretations, or attempts to get her to observe herself, were cries of: "you aren't sympathetic," "you don't like me," or "how can you say those things when you see I feel so bad." There were also constant brief flights to other doctors who "I thought would be more sympathetic." When the patient was finally shown that she was doing so in devotion to

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The material for this paper is adapted from a course of training lectures on Psychoanalytic Technique given at the American Institute for Psychoanalysis in 1946 by Karen Horney, M.D.

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the fixed belief that sympathy alone could cure her, she replied, "Well, I don't care anything about ethics or honesty. I just know I'm sick, and I want anything I can get that will cure me, and I'll get it any way I can." This clear statement of her utter blind faith in her favorite solution shows the frantic mobilization of the retarding forces. In this patient, evasion, deceit, cynicism, complaint, appeals to sympathy and humanity, recurrent disparagement of the therapist for not falling in with her insistence on sympathy, ignoring her flaws, and joining the attack on her "enemies," all were retarding forces. The impoverishment of personality and the deterioration of moral values resulting directly from her blind devotion to this single solution continually decreased her chances of having any realistically satisfying achievements or relationships.

### PSEUDO-SOLUTIONS

If we see as prominent pseudo-solutions such things as living in imagination, hopelessness (leading to bitterness, paralysis, and begrudging envy), externalization (leading to vindictiveness), belief that love will solve everything, attempts at dominance or will power, and living in the idealized image (leading to detachment or to sadism against the self for not reaching it), then we can identify the blockings or retarding forces as being actual goal-directed activity in analysis. We need never regard them as deliberate stubbornness on the part of the patient. On the contrary, they represent one of the best ways the patient has at his command of directing us toward his most severe and disabling trends, of which he may or may not be aware. The part of the analyst here is to take responsibility for stopping all other work and focusing on *what is being endangered here*, and what method the patient is using here to protect himself when he feels endangered, for the kind of retarding force that appears is typical of his neurotic structure.

### CONSEQUENCES OF RETARDING FORCES

The consequences of the retarding forces are seen as blockings. These blockings can,

be acute, as seen in silence, crying, anger or irritability, lateness, remaining away, changing the subject; or they may be chronic blockings. The latter type shows up in both specific and general ways, the most general of which might be considered the patient's whole attitude toward his analysis.

It may be apparent in the *spirit of his associations*, that is, in the sincerity with which he does or does not put forth real efforts in associating. Or they may show in his attitudes toward the analyst, whether as an object to help him to safety (in a dependent fearful person), or as an antagonist (in the aggressive person), or as a distant voice which should give magic-working advice leading to the immediate solution of all difficulties (in the detached person), or as a cruel adversary who must be placated and guarded against (in the person whose sadism is directed against himself.) Further, chronic blocking may show up in a discrepancy between insight and gains. The patient here may have a work inhibition which operates to cause him to drop lethargically any point which has become clear, at the earliest possible moment, and to be quite unwilling to work through anything by himself without constant pushing from the analyst; or he may hold some private reservations. However, the most interesting and revealing way in which chronic blocking can operate is the patient's typical reaction to interpretations. Here the analyst's own attitude can play a role as well, for the aim of an interpretation is to uncover to the patient, and for his use, any connection or factor of which he is not sufficiently aware.

This interpretation, of course, should always be tentative, for our goal is that the patient then tests the interpretation, and if it proves to be something he is able to see as true of himself, that he work it through with the help of the analyst. It may be worked at in terms of first uncovering its existence, getting a better description of it and of what goes into it, getting some measure of its intensity from the vigor and rage and fear with which it is defended, seeing how it manifests itself in his ways of operating, seeing how pervasive it is, toward whom and when he has been using it, then seeing

its consequences to him, what it has been costing him. This last point brings in the cause and effect factor which can be so relieving to the patient and can increase his healthy feeling of having a real part in his own life. If this becomes clear to him, it can give him courage to own up to this trait as being really his, to feel really responsible for it, and from there to look further for the inner drives and necessities from which it springs, the exorbitant claims, the blaming of others, the externalizations and inner dishonesties which have fed it.

This would be the healthy way of using an interpretation. However, the varieties of ways in which the retarding forces may operate as blocks to prevent the patient from getting any real value out of an interpretation can also reveal to analyst and to patient, if they are examined sufficiently, much regarding his ways of operation. That is to say, the patient may take what is shown him as a humiliation because it does not fit into his idealized image, or he may blindly accept it in fear of otherwise displeasing the analyst who might make him suffer for it. Or if he is very arrogant or egocentric he may find it impossible to endure the fact that someone else sees something in him which he has not seen and may simply ignore the remark; or he may have such a severe need to be always arrogantly right in order to control his own self-doubts that he will indignantly refuse it. He may be quite unable to see what you point out as having any reality at all, if only his ideal-

ized image has validity for him. He will then have a feeling of not knowing what the analyst is talking about. If he is quite sadistic toward himself he may feel the analyst's saying it as only another unjustified cruelty. He may try to argue and befog the issue.

Of all neurotic ways of reacting to an interpretation, one of the most difficult to recognize and deal with is evasiveness, sometimes seen as elusiveness. These kinds of behavior usually mask the fact that anxiety or indignation are present, sometimes quite unconsciously, in the patient at the mere mention of anything the analyst has observed in him which is a flaw.

Of these retarding forces in general, the strongest and most destructive seem in many ways to be those with a deadening effect on hope, ability to work, and in general on the patient's constructive forces. Here, cynicism, the loss of all values, severe self contempt and self-directed sadism—the latter two directly resulting from the effects of the need to maintain the idealized image with great rigidity—seem to make analytic work slower and more painful to the patient.

While the retarding forces which operate to block the analysis at many points are the fault of neither the patient nor the analyst, both must take the responsibility for their recognition and analysis. Unless they are worked through at least as exhaustively as any other material, the analysis will come inevitably to an unprofitable end.

## GYMNASTICS AND PERSONALITY

GERTRUD LEDERER-ECKARDT \*

[Foreword by Karen Horney: Most neurotic persons have one or the other disturbance in their muscular systems—spasms, backaches, neckaches, arthritic propensities, weakness in moving this or that part of the body, poor coordination in gait and posture, shaky bodily balance.

Some of these are secondary adaptations to organic deficiencies such as deformed feet, or a curvature of the spine. But the ailments under which the patient suffers are often less due to the original deficiency than to the secondary faulty use of muscles. These can be corrected by competent gymnastics.

What is of special interest to the analyst is the fact that many muscular disorders are the expression of psychological difficulties. Thus general or localized muscular tension can be the expression of psychic tension engendered by the necessity to suppress an explosive hostility. Cramps in the neck or legs of an acute nature may indicate a spell of a destructive self-condemnation. A gait in which only the legs move forward while the trunk leans back may express a conflict between aggressiveness and self-effacement—and so on. The analyst may observe at least some of such psychosomatic parallels; or he may be aware that complaints about muscular pains occur at a time when certain conflicts become more acute in the analysis. But here he tends to be over-confident. Since the

faulty movements or posture are determined by psychic factors, he expects them to disappear automatically when the particular neurotic difficulties are straightened out. To some extent such changes actually do take place spontaneously. The patient's physical balance, for instance, will improve as soon as his psychic equilibrium is stabilized. But often such expectations are not borne out by facts, the reason being the same as mentioned before in the case of an originally organic defect. The faulty movements or posture, however determined, do not remain static; other muscle groups are set in motion in order to compensate for the first wrong attitude; and these adaptive changes in turn influence other parts. The secondary changes, then, are no more psychological; they are due to physical necessities. This is why they do not yield to psychotherapy. It would be better, therefore, to encourage the patient to get expert help for his bodily difficulties. To do so will benefit him also in two other ways: To do gymnastics requires active and consistent effort on the patient's part because it means not only to take lessons but also to do regular exercises on his own. And here he runs up against frequent difficulties: knowing full well that exercises are in his own interest, he just cannot get himself to do them. He is faced, thereby, more unequivocally than in analysis with his resistance against doing something for himself constructively.

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*The other benefit lies in the observations of an intelligent gym-teacher. The analyst may be an astute observer; yet he would not see in handwriting what a graphologist sees. Similarly, concerning bodily movements and attitudes, he will fail to observe many peculiarities which would strike the trained gymnastic teacher. The latter's observations will frequently coincide with factors discussed in analysis. For instance, the patient may have recognized in analysis how alienated he is from himself. The gym-teacher will observe that the patient, complaining about a pain in his foot, is unable to indicate the exact spot which hurts. This means that he is not directly related to his foot and must interpolate a period of thinking before he is able to find out the source of his discomfort. If this is discussed with the patient, his alienation from self is demonstrated to him on a basis that is different from analysis. Experiences of this kind carry quite some conviction, particularly for those patients who tend to regard psychological findings as a matter of purely intellectual interest.*

*Finally these observations dispel an illusion which many patients cherish. Not having much real regard for themselves, they often discard their own neurotic suffering as unimportant. What counts is to maintain an impregnable facade. Their pride would be wounded if others would be cognizant of their inner difficulties. They like to believe, therefore, that their disturbances are invisible to others. Being presented with evidence to the contrary may come to them as an unpleasant surprise but also gives them an additional incentive to overcome their predicaments.*

*Intelligent gymnastic work, then, has psychological value. It calls the person's attention to his peculiarities in gait or posture which he has not observed on his own. It points out to him possible connections with psychic difficulties. It makes him aware that these latter are noticeable to others. It gives him, last but not least, a feeling of the unity between body and soul.]*

**W**E have many ways of expressing ourselves. In whatever we do, we dis-

play traits which are our very own and part of our whole personality. There is an intimate relationship between our movements and posture and our mood, state of tension or relaxation. One reflects the other and each is part of our whole self. Most people are unaware of this connection. They pay little attention to their bodies unless there is some disturbance. And then they become indignant. They show more respect for the little signs of car trouble and take better care of their cars generally than of their bodies.

This neglect of our bodies is particularly unnecessary since the body responds so readily and gratefully to even small attentions regularly given. Regular exercises help to increase our relaxation, flexibility in movement, and general health. By doing exercises, we can also learn about, or at least become aware of, our inner self. How we perform the exercises, what difficulties we have, and how we walk and carry ourselves—all of these reveal much about ourselves. A trained gym-teacher can be helpful in bringing some of these points to our attention.

Here are some examples of what we can learn about ourselves and others from exercising:

When you hear adults remark: "No wonder I am fat. In my profession I must sit all day. I never get a chance to move. I can never find the time to do anything for myself. Anyhow, why should I bother at my age?" Such people certainly neglect themselves, and are inclined to blame other factors for their extra fat when they are really personally responsible for it.

When we observe a person trying to do an exercise, we get a clue to his character. One person, for instance, when asked to swing his leg backward and forward began frantically to wave both arms and legs and twist his body. He could not seem to mobilize his energies or direct his movements. On better acquaintance, he told me that he could not get organized in his work. Another person, when asked to put her hands on the floor without bending her knees, said, even before she made any



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attempt: "Oh, no, I could never do that." After further work we both found that she had to avoid all situations where she might appear awkward or did not show up well in her own eyes or the eyes of others. Every challenge frightened her because she lacked self-confidence.

Another person stiffened his body, tensed every muscle, and tried to do the bending exercise. Naturally he could not do it. You need a flexible back and a relaxed state to reach the floor without bending your knees. When he could not do it, he looked at me with silent reproaches and seemed to say, "I am brave and willing but this will kill me. It is not my fault; you expect the impossible of me." He later admitted that he often felt the same way and acted the same way at work and with people.

You will no doubt recognize the person who is just too relaxed to do exercises and generally seems unable to "pull himself together." And, by contrast, you probably know the kind of person who approaches his exercises with a "hammer and tongs" attitude. He drives himself ruthlessly, never takes a rest, and only stops when he is near collapse. No pace is too fast for him and, whether it be in exercise or elsewhere, he makes enormous demands on himself and expects the impossible of himself.

### EXERCISE AND EFFORT

There are people who complain quickly and openly about the effort required of them in exercising, although they want to achieve the results. We can be sure that these people guard themselves against exertion in other fields, pamper themselves and feel very hurt if they do not get great returns for their efforts. Other people put out effort willingly, but do not even take reasonable precautions against injury. They bump into everything in their path, and do not seem to see obstacles, nor do they feel their bodies as real and subject to pain and injury.

Floor exercises bring out other personality traits. Some people are enthusiastic about them, and say they are reminded of childhood pleasures and games. Others

prefer floor exercises because they eliminate the dangers of falling and stumbling and also allow for greater concentration on one exercise. Mrs. B., however, detested floor exercises despite her need for them. She was a woman who "lived in the clouds." As she "came down to earth" and got greater insight into her personality problems, these exercises became less objectionable to her. Personality difficulties often interfere with a person's ability to relax enough and yet to maintain the control of muscles needed to fall without injury to himself.

### INDIVIDUAL RHYTHM

In the course of exercising, we watch our bodies and discover our own individual rhythm. Two factors determine our rhythm. One is the biological factor which is dependent on the person's size, weight, and age. The other is the psychological factor. Both influence a person's speed of performance. People vary considerably in their innate rhythms. A better understanding of these factors and testing them can help a person to get more pleasure from effort, to conserve his energy and to use it more effectively. Working against the rhythm best suited to our biological and psychological needs may produce tensions. Disturbance in our natural rhythm may express itself in many ways.

Mr. A., for example, could not sleep. His wife suggested exercise as a way of tiring himself out so he would get some rest. He began to do the exercises in a hurried fashion. I brought this to his attention, and told him that he moved much more quickly than was natural for his body length. Tall people need more energy to move as fast as shorter ones and if they move too fast they tire more easily. Tall people get better results if they move more slowly. Mr. A. said that he was always forcing himself to move more quickly to complete what he felt was expected of him. He complained that he never accomplished enough. When he recognized the general need to push himself, he began to consider his need for psychological help. Moving against his natural rhythm was

probably one of the factors which contributed to his insomnia.

Some people need a breathing-spell more often than others. This need for a creative pause shows up in exercise, in work, in walking, and in thinking. Other people begin slowly, and increase their speed as they near the goal. Still others maintain the same steady, even pace from start to finish.

It is possible to learn about a person not only from his attitudes to physical exercise but from the manner in which he walks. There is the person who rushes past you, his neck outstretched, his head forward, trotting doggedly ahead without turning to right or left. He often turns out to be a person with a "one-track" mind, who is so driven by his inner pressures that he has no consideration for others. And there is the person, who although he is walking forward, bent at the waist, seems to be pulling himself away from his own legs or at least seems to be following them reluctantly. He certainly appears to be devoted to maintaining distance between himself and people. And the short man who takes tremendous strides may be driven by excessive ambition to fantastic goals, whereas the irregular short steps of another may indicate a deep inner insecurity and uncertainty.

Popular figures of speech also reveal a recognition of the relationship between personality, posture, and walk. Some of these are: "he looks as if he is carrying the world on his shoulders," "keep your chin up," "pull yourself together," "he is a jelly-fish," "he needs to be straightened out," and "he lacks backbone." It would be fallacious to regard every defect in posture, walk, or exercising, as an index of deep-seated personality difficulties. However, it would benefit a person at least to recognize a small physical defect and try to correct it before greater bodily harm ensues.

#### EXERCISE AND INNER CONFLICTS

Physical exercises assist in changing physical patterns which in turn help to influence inner attitudes. Some successful

achievement, small though it may be, with regular, steady physical exercise, often encourages a person sufficiently to use the same approach to other problems, like dieting, or other changes he may have not had enough confidence to attempt previously.

Physical exercises in conjunction with psychological treatment often help a person to become more keenly aware of some of the underlying unconscious factors in the personality structure which contribute to his difficulties. The following examples will serve to illustrate this point.

Miss C. was very willing and eager to practice moving her body in all forward directions, but bluntly refused to do any backward movements. She even confessed fear of the latter movements. She feared everything which was "behind" her. On my suggestion, she started watching her movements in a big mirror which enabled her to observe what she was doing while moving backward. Eventually she tried to look at the mirror less frequently. She finally conquered her fear. At the same time she also had overcome a deadlock in analysis, which was related to a fear of facing her past realistically. From this instance we see that gymnastics can bring an individual to an awareness of the influence of unconscious factors on bodily movements. This awareness may stimulate an interest in change.

A young man was sent to me by his analyst because he did not know what to do with himself. Everything bored him and he entertained ideas of suicide. He was brilliant, good-looking, and wealthy. He had every external advantage. When he came to me, he made it quite clear that he did not think I could teach him anything at all. He had come to prove his good-will to his analyst. Also he had nothing better to do. I gave him a thoroughly exhausting workout. Steaming with perspiration and breathing heavily, he admitted smilingly, "Oh, that was fun." I smiled back and said, "You might have more fun if you made efforts more often." This started him thinking. Real satisfaction can be achieved only with the output of honest effort.

## GYMNASTIC AND PERSONALITY

The use of regular exercises gives a feeling of physical and psychological well-being as well as the satisfaction which always accompanies effort and achievement. Exercising is one of the ways of becoming more aware of oneself, and a physical education instructor, oriented towards people and their problems, may be of considerable assistance. The characteristics which show up in exercising often point to extensive personality difficulties. When an individual becomes aware of the connection between what is revealed by exercise and his personal and social problems, he may begin

to take his entire welfare more seriously.

It is never too late to begin to pay attention to our long-neglected bodies. The results are usually gratifying and lead to greater hope for one's self and to increased self-confidence. The success an individual achieves in exercise may encourage him to make renewed efforts for development in other directions, and give him convincing evidence of untapped resources. When we have learned to coordinate our bodily movements, we gain in satisfaction, hope and pleasure. These gains contribute actively to a pervasive feeling of well-being.

## NEUROTIC PRIDE AND SELF-HATRED ACCORDING TO FREUD AND HORNEY

H. GERSHMAN \*

**B**EFORE the factors of neurotic pride and self-hatred are compared from two vistas of orientation—namely, Freud and Horney—a brief inquiry must be made into their fundamental theories. This much they have in common—they are both psychological; they both recognize the significance of the unconscious mind in the control of our daily lives; they both study the nature of these unconscious drives by means of free association, dream analysis, and slips of the tongue. Nevertheless, there is a fundamental divergence in their basic concepts as well as their therapeutic approach.

### FREUD'S VIEWPOINT

Freud lived in an era dominated by mechanistic, structural, evolutionary theories of Darwin. He believed that human personality was the product of instinctive drives. He then transposed almost in toto the Darwinian principles of evolutionary change to these instincts. These primitive forces underwent a very complicated series of evolutionary changes during the maturation of an individual. There were two fundamental impulsive drives—the life instinct, Eros, and the death instinct, Thanatos. These two instincts, in pure form or mixtures thereof, somehow, almost mystically, attached themselves to the fertilized

egg and remained indefinitely bound until complete demise. The evolution, then, of these instincts was not at all dissimilar to the embryological evolution of the egg itself. During the course of this evolutionary process, as one might expect, points of weaknesses or fixations appeared which ultimately were translated into deformed character or personality, since Freud believed that these drives were the ultimate determinants of character. It is true that Freud realized the importance of the external world, in creating these fixations and faulty developments, but, nevertheless, he was greatly impressed by the vitality of these primeval and almost spiritual forces.

Several implications may be deduced from the above formulations:

1. Character and personality are preeminently determined by the inter-play of two instincts—life and death.

2. Any defect in personality or character can be remedied only by the restoration of the dynamic equilibrium of these two major forces.

3. The adult personality is predominantly determined by a chain of evolutionary developments of instinct.

4. Character, as a whole, with its multiplicity of factors that are constantly playing upon it, modifying it, changing it, is over-simplified and made to be dependent

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## NEUROTIC PRIDE AND SELF-HATRED ACCORDING TO FREUD AND HORNEY

upon a few factors only. This over-simplification must undoubtedly omit many pertinent and essential factors.

5. The sum total of such an approach results in a pessimistic outlook as to therapeutic cure, since recovery depends in a large measure on the restoration of relatively static and unchangeable factors such as instincts.

The therapeutic rationale depends upon the bringing to awareness those weaknesses and injuries that have taken place in the course of the evolutionary instinctive development. Such a concept is too mechanistic—it appears almost as if one little thing had gone wrong in a certain chain of events and then deformity resulted. It does not take into account the great number of forces and counterforces which are constantly playing upon the living being and modifying him to some extent. It is genetic, biological and evolutionary.

### HORNEY'S VIEWPOINT

The therapeutic rationale depends upon putes and questions the probability that the entire human personality has resulted from the evolution of Eros. It contends that Eros is probably subservient to the whole personality rather than vice versa. It maintains that the psychological structure which we call personality is the culmination of the innumerable contacts and interpersonal relationships that the child has in its course of development. The child has an innate capacity to develop a mature character and personality, provided his development is not marred by pathological interpersonal relationships, such as discrimination, injury, emotional deprivation, hate. If, however, the infant is not so fortunate and the stage is set for the appearance of basic anxiety, which is not negated by subsequent good fortune in interpersonal contacts, then a neurosis will ensue. The neurosis, naturally, may vary in intensity, in severity, in form, and in context; but nevertheless, this neurosis speaks for a whole injured psychological structure, namely, personality. The whole personality is then impoverished. Careful examination will show that all fractions of the personality are to

some extent affected. Sexuality may be disturbed—but such a change is secondary to the personality changes. Unlike Freud, Horney does not feel that sex disturbances create personality changes, but vice versa. The whole remains greater than any of its parts. Another great contribution of Horney is her accurate descriptions of the neurotic character structure with its resulting contradictory compulsive, indiscriminate drives. Thus, the Horney approach is dynamic, psychological, and dialectic. It is not pessimistic; it avoids metaphysical concepts and remains in the realm of the objective, the scientific, and the rational.

### NEUROTIC PRIDE AND SELF-HATRED

Now let us examine neurotic pride. According to Freud, neurotic pride is the adult manifestation of the early narcissistic stage of the infant. It implies that in the course of normal development an undue strain or fixation occurred in this early state which is characterized in the infant by complete disconcern for the environment but with fixation on the infant's own body pleasure. At this stage the infant derives pleasure from himself in all of his activities. The adult reversion to this state, therefore, although sometimes brought about by external environmental factors, is nevertheless a result of internal weakness of certain developmental stages. The emphasis is thus on the primary faulty state, which in most instances outweighs the external factors that the child may have experienced.

Similarly, self-hatred becomes an expression of the predominance of overt action of death instinct in comparison to the constructive life instinct. Self-hatred becomes sadism that has been deflected from external projection, and, instead, focused on the individual himself. I believe that such a concept of neurotic pride and self-hatred is over-simplified. Not only is it over-simplified but it seems to be determined only by a fraction of the total forces in the human personality. What Freud is actually saying in these concepts is that the whole personality is determined and created by a part of it; that the part is really greater than the whole; that Eros or life



## H. GERSHMAN

instinct determines everything, even though admittedly it is only one of the important life forces in our makeup.

Briefly, neurotic pride and self-hatred, according to Horney, are opposite poles of self-appraisal as compared to the idealized image. The idealized image is the personification of the "imaginary me" that a neurotic would like to be. Usually the qualities of the idealized image are greatly inflated, unreal, and fantastic—as a part of compensation for the "real me." This compensation was apparently necessary, to avert the pangs of anxiety created by feelings of inadequacy, failure, loneliness, unlovableness, and other characteristics of basic anxiety compounded by additional layers of anxiety created in later years. Since this idealized image is created by a dire need, rather than wholesome growth, its construction is unstable, vindictive, impulsive, contradictory and entirely unreal in relation to the actual state of events. Nevertheless, its demands are unremitting and insatiable. Whenever the individual behaves in accordance with his idealized

image, the temporary good feeling that ensues is comparable to neurotic pride. This feeling is only temporary because the idealized image is compounded by numerous contradictory aims, and in a very short time the good feeling is replaced by its opposites

Self-hatred is incurred whenever the "real me" does not live up to the standards, aims, demands, or claims of the idealized image. Since the latter is quite removed from reality, by contrast the real me with its realistic attributes and achievement is shrunken, insignificant, small, hateful, and contemptible. This feeling, of course, saps real self-confidence and failure ensues. The failure is then accepted as ultimate proof of the correctness of the accusation of the idealized self. Profound depression or lesser degrees of self-hatred may follow.

Neurotic pride and self-hatred are, therefore, psychological dynamic attitudes toward the self, which the individual acquires as a result of his relationship with other human beings.

## BOOK REVIEWS

**A KIERKEGAARD ANTHOLOGY.** Edited by Robert Bretall. 487 pp. 1946. Princeton University Press. \$5.

Kierkegaard is a Danish religious philosopher who lived in Copenhagen from 1813 to 1855. During his short life-span of 42 years he wrote about twenty books. In spite of this considerable output, he was almost completely forgotten for many years after his death. In the last two years his name has been mentioned in the newspapers as the father of "existential philosophy" now popular in France.

His most important works have appeared in English translation only in the last ten years, most of them in the publications of Princeton University Press. The present volume contains extracts from his most significant writings. It is evident that the editor has a thorough knowledge of Kierkegaard and that his selections are well chosen. Each section is preceded by a brief introduction by the editor with useful comments about the meaning of the particular volume in the context of Kierkegaard's development and in relationship to the other volumes.

Kierkegaard's writing is largely autobiographical and reflects his own spiritual development. Most of his writings were published under various pseudonyms—projections of those aspects of his personality which he considered as transitory stages—while his straight religious writings were published under his own name.

Kierkegaard is one of the most difficult writers. He is known to very few, but among these few some have studied him

with a most unusual devotion. Many of these students and commentators have themselves been religious workers. A notable exception is Karl Jaspers, German psychopathologist and philosopher, who was greatly influenced by Kierkegaard and most of whose writings still await translation into English.

Kierkegaard's chief interest to us as analysts comes from the fact that he was himself a troubled soul who early in his life as an author set out to "analyze" himself and who in his long self-examination focused his interest on certain basic psychological problems and particularly on one's relationship to oneself.

In our theory of neurosis we have arrived at a number of concepts which Kierkegaard also discovered. Although he was not in possession of clinical knowledge, he developed his concepts with great psychological penetration and with remarkable logical acumen, and he wrote with considerable literary talent. Therefore, in spite of the narrow field in which he moves, we can find much in his writing that will stimulate our own thinking to greater depth and precision.

In Kierkegaard's time philosophy was dominated by Hegel and he rose against this type of philosophy which prided itself on having built a perfect and complete system which however had a purely intellectual or "objective" value. Against this Kierkegaard asserted that "truth is subjectivity"—that one has to face one's own spiritual needs as an existing person with the concrete material as given in one's personality and that these strivings for

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something higher are true only if they are obligatory to oneself, if one has the strength to commit oneself to believe in them.

His revolt against Hegel reminds one of Marx, but while Marx's aim was social change, Kierkegaard emphasized the individual and the work he has to do on himself in achieving spiritual growth. Again in similarity with Marx, Kierkegaard recognized that something was wrong with the society in which he lived, but Kierkegaard's emphasis was on what was spiritually wrong with it and more specifically on the fact that people took it for granted that they were Christians, when actually they were Christians in name only. How to be a Christian became his main problem. It follows from this that much of his later writing is expressed in religious concepts. Even so these concepts are of great psychological interest, but they will require transposition or reinterpretation if they are to form a part of our analytic concepts.

The development of the individual Kierkegaard saw as bound up with a hierarchy of values, which moves from the esthetical, through the ethical towards the religious values. But even though Kierkegaard has in view the higher values man can achieve, he emphasizes that "I stand solely and simply for common human honesty."

The main point of contact with Kierkegaard's thinking lies for us in the fact that we work with a theory of analysis which not only recognizes values, but demands their introduction into our daily work.

Another important point of contact with our theory is the emphasis on striving rather than on the possession of the final truth, on the process of change rather than on attaining perfection as a person. Kierkegaard has worked exactly along these lines.

I shall indicate briefly some of his other basic concepts paraphrasing his own words.

Kierkegaard recognized that the highest and most valuable power is "the unifying power of the personality." One may wish to ignore one's problem and pretend to be quite all right and not be aware of

one's despair. But it is better to know that one is in despair. In despair one is divided, one has two wills. The mature or responsible person is capable of wanting one thing wholeheartedly.

A man can become more clear about himself or fight against clarity. These two forces are in a struggle in everyone. One can shut oneself up in intransparency. The greatest handicap comes from intransparency to oneself. One is then in a self-made prison. One is shut up in unfreedom.

In one's life one is confronted again and again by the necessity of making a choice and if one ignores this need the choice will be made by "the obscure powers within" one.

One is then in despair about being oneself. One may think one is too weak to be oneself. One may defiantly want to be oneself, but one finds that what one wants is not to be oneself or that one wants to be someone else. One may claim strongly that one is oneself, but actually be like a king who has no country over which to rule, because one has no self. One may recognize one's identity by externals only, because one has no self. One may think of an infinite eternal self, because one does not wish to face one's finite, concrete self.

Although Kierkegaard begins with a religious evaluation of the human situation in which one is in despair because one lives in "sin" and although he ends up with a religious solution which he finds in the striving "to be contemporary of Christ in his suffering and humiliation," these formulations can easily be brought into harmony with our own theory. Living in sin can be compared with living in error about oneself and contemporaneity with Christ can be formulated partly as recognizing the truth about oneself with humility and with the unavoidable hurt to one's pride, which comes from exposing one's pretenses, and partly as striving for higher unity and greater aspirations, depending on the particular individual.

The latter also means that one has to believe in something, that one has to have

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faith. Kierkegaard points out that this is not merely an intellectual operation. To the contrary, having faith means committing oneself without the possibility of knowing intellectually before hand what the struggle and the outcome will be. Therefore having faith involves taking a risk and one can speak of faith only when one is capable of taking a risk.

One can help a person to achieve spiritual growth. But he who would be a helper must be humble and must be able to understand where the other one is, in order to help him start from where he is. Here Kierkegaard recognizes clearly that the "helper" must first be able to overcome his own arrogance and his own irrational belief that he knows it all or that he knows everything better.

These are some of the leading concepts of Kierkegaard which are of interest to us as analysts. He returns to them endlessly, always illuminating them in some new way. That these concepts are closely related to our own, will be clear enough to anyone who has followed the newer developments of character-analysis.

In this anthology the choice of material is not exactly that which an analyst would have made. It is intended for the general reader. Nothing is quoted from *The Concept of Dread*, a volume of greatest interest to the analyst. In compensation for this however a generous portion is given from *The Sickness unto Death*, another volume of great psychological importance.

The criticism has been made of Kierkegaard that he is onesided, that he over-emphasises the religious solution and that he disregards the needs for social change. I believe Kierkegaard must be valued for what he did and not for what he did not do.

From the analytic point of view, we also would have to make a somewhat similar criticism, that is that while he was one of the most courageous explorers in the field of the relationship one has with oneself, he neglected almost completely the other side of the problem, the relationship one has with others. This neglect is no doubt con-

nected with his own neurotic detachment.

Finally, I would like to suggest that the beginning student of Kierkegaard may find great help from reading the volume entitled *Something about Kierkegaard*, by David Swenson, an American philosopher, who has made a life-long study of Kierkegaard's works.

—VALER BARBU, M.D.

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PEOPLE IN QUANDARIES. By Wendell Johnson. 532 pp. 1946. Harper and Bros. \$4.

Many people today are interested in personality development and in the improvement of human relations. Varied theories have been advanced explaining the origin of our human problems and setting forth some means for solving them. The author of *People in Quandaries* believes that many personality difficulties arise from the structure of our language and the ways in which it is used. He is convinced that the application of the techniques of general semantics is most effective in the treatment of the more common maladjustments. He has been using this method for the past eleven years as clinical psychologist at the University of Iowa.

General semantics is defined as a systematic attempt to use the scientific method in devising a language whose structure would correspond to the structure of reality. The essentials of the scientific method which are used in general semantics are: attention is focused on differences; orientation is of a dynamic and process character which corresponds to the nature of reality; processes cannot be seen directly but can be inferred; assumptions are known; language is clear, valid and meaningful and revision of beliefs and assumptions are possible.

In order to construct a language which helps a person to understand himself and others, we must be aware that reality is changing, changeable, continuously differentiated, and variable. Such a language

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would clearly indicate that the user was fully conscious of the non-verbal aspect of the meaning of reality, of the personal nature of the evaluations expressed, and of the effect language has on the speaker and the listener. Observations would be understood as in themselves abstractions from reality. This consciousness of the nature of the abstracting process then becomes the basis for scientific values which can be applied to personal and social problems.

The bedrock of the whole system of general semantics rests on three premises: non-identity, non-allness, and self-reflexiveness. These premises embody the important characteristics of reality as applied to language. They can be summarized in these words used by Johnson: "the word is not the object, the symbol is not the fact, and the map is not the territory," and "the word does not represent all of the object," "we use language to talk about language, and we make abstracts of abstracts indefinitely." A scientifically-minded individual does not confuse the different levels of abstraction. The working principles which follow from the above premises embody the same concepts and are further implemented by practical devices which make the language structure more scientific. Some of these devices which are consciously and deliberately employed are hyphens, quotes, plurals, quantifying terms, dates, and the phrase "to-me." When a person uses words in accordance with the principles of general semantics he faces facts more squarely, his language is differentiated and expresses the changing aspect of reality and accounts for where-when relationships.

Johnson seems to have glimpsed the dynamic character of human motivation. However, his concept of the origin and characteristics of maladjustment indicates a rather limited view of personality. He uses language in the broader sense so that it includes an individual's beliefs, assumptions, interests, values, ideals, and attitudes. Since he regards the individual's language as the main difficulty, he is actually focus-

ing on the consequences and symptoms of personality difficulties and assigning to them the position of major causes. He attributes the origin of maladjustment to the semantic or language environment in early childhood. In this period an individual unconsciously acquires beliefs, attitudes, etc. He adopts and internalizes some of them and carries them along unchanged into adult life. This view of the origin of personality difficulties closely resembles Freud's concept of repetition compulsion. The author states that these evaluative tendencies are carried along because the individual is unreflective. It becomes evident that Johnson does not consider basic anxiety as the crucial point in the origin of neurosis.

Johnson divides individuals into two categories, depending on their basic orientation to life and reality. The scientifically-minded individual recognizes the process character of reality. This understanding enables him to see differences and tolerate them, to identify and claim his assumptions, beliefs, values, ideals, etc., to allow for change, to revise his beliefs, to be aware of the personal nature of projection in language, and to take responsibility for himself and foresee his actions. Such an individual is extensional, that is, "he is in touch with reality, faces facts, and has a good understanding of himself. He reacts neither too soon nor too much." In many respects, this picture resembles our concept of the well-integrated person whose center of gravity is within himself.

On the other hand, the prescientific individual—which category comprises the majority of individuals in our culture—sees reality as static. He is rigid, relies unduly on authority, clings to similarities, fixed beliefs, attitudes, etc., cannot allow for change, and is unable to assume responsibility for himself. He is unaware of his assumptions, and is unconscious of projection in his language. Johnson considers this unawareness of "to-me-ness" the outstanding symptom of maladjustment. He puts responsibility on formal and in-



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formal education for the orientation of the prescientific individual. Of some interest to us is his concept of "plogglies," to which the prescientific individual attributes his difficulties in life. Some of these "plogglies" are: fate, heredity, and the supernatural. This formulation bears some resemblance to Horney's elaboration of one of the major false solutions to conflict, namely, externalization. Other features of the prescientific individual bear some resemblance to Horney's description of the neurotic individual whose center of gravity is outside himself.

Johnson further characterizes the maladjusted persons as frustrated idealists. The ideals are vague, elusive, two-valued, absolute, and impossible of achievement. When the individual is frustrated in their pursuit, he becomes despairing and demoralized. This type of idealism, Johnson believes, accounts for the prevalence of inferiority feelings among the maladjusted. When we contrast his view of a maladjusted individual's difficulties with Horney's contribution, we become aware of the limited nature of Johnson's concept which does not consider basic anxiety, although he is aware of a frantic element in the pursuit of these goals. Horney has considerably broadened our understanding of human motivation by elaborating the defensive structure built on the substratum of basic anxiety and by her work on the meaning of an individual's strivings for supremacy. These strivings present some of the attempts at solution of conflict and ways of restoring injured self-esteem.

The cases presented in this book as representative of the more common maladjustments or "minor" maladjustments seem to fall into the category of deeper neurotic involvement than mere personality response to situational difficulties. The goals of therapy in these instances were directed toward semantic reevaluation and removal or alleviation of symptoms. The deeper character structure remained untouched. By contrast, psychoanalytic therapy, which aims for total personality change, considers the language used by the

individual to be as much a problem as other aspects of his personality. The goal in general semantics is "to get the words out of the eyes." It seems to be largely a logical analysis of human problems on a conscious level with deliberate attempts to change behaviour by conscious change in attitudes and evaluations. The author does not state how he deals with anxiety, which he considers an evaluative fear "of abstractions which the maladjusted cannot define in the quieting terms of scientific realities." His thesis is that removal of semantic confusion dissipates the maladjustment. This is achieved by discovering what a person is doing, what his behaviour is designed to accomplish, the means used, and the extent to which the goals are achieved.

For the general reader this book has several values. It will be definitely thought-provoking and stimulate an interest in self-investigation—provided the reader is willing to put forth effort and concentration on the semantic exercises presented in the appendix. Johnson also makes a good contribution in his elaboration of the non-verbal aspects of the meaning of reality. Although this is not a new concept, it is valuable to emphasize it again for the general public. Other readers interested in the fields of public communication and propaganda for constructive ends will find good source material here.

For the analyst, the technique of general semantics offers very little that is of value. Analysts, working with a dynamic concept of human motivation, are well-aware of the non-verbal aspects of the meaning of reality, and focus their attention constantly on the meaning behind the patient's language. They also are concerned with a thorough analysis of the patient's values, attitudes, ideals, goals, and assumptions, and assist the patient in his fight against the fear of change. These factors receive particular attention in the analysis of conflicting compulsive needs which result in dividedness in values and ideals.

This book and the theory outlined in it

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might mislead the individual who expects to solve deep-seated difficulties with general semantics. However, some of the principles might prove effective in mild situational difficulties and as a therapy for the psychiatric problems of childhood, when the defensive structure is not too rigid. Some modification of general semantics may also further self-analysis after a formal analysis.

—BELLA S. VAN BARK, M.D.

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A STUDY OF HISTORY. By Arnold J. Toynbee. Abridgement of volumes I-VI by D. C. Somervell. 617 pp. 1947. Oxford University Press. \$5.

A certain amount of resignation is necessary on the part of the reader approaching this book. Obviously, Toynbee can present only a small part of the vast store of historical material upon which he bases his conclusions. But even that small part is not really open to the general reader's appraisal. It would take a trained historian with the erudition of Toynbee to match points with him. The reader is therefore pretty much at his mercy. However, there need be no despair. Toynbee approaches his material with a warm heart and hand. And any conclusions that a man of Toynbee's scholarship may draw are by themselves bound to be of great interest.

Then there is the matter of Toynbee's extensive use of symbol, allegory, and analogy. Without question such devices are necessary when one tries, as does Toynbee, to relate facts to their ultimate source: the soul or motivating center of the human being. Their use also adds to the richness of this inherently rich book. But at times it is difficult to know when he uses the literary devices figuratively, for illustration, or literally, for proof and example. This is particularly true in his references to Christianity and the Church. Some might object to the garb of his argument as being secular, but few will deny the force and cogency for our time of the argument itself and be unwilling to

take it out of its vestments and examine it on its own.

The argument begins: Historical experience, when seen as a whole, is correctly divisible into civilizations. Civilizations form "intelligible fields of historical study." Even these large units of time and space and event have influenced one another, especially during certain periods of their existence, and can themselves be better understood by seeing their interrelationships. One does not get a comprehensive enough understanding of a nation from its own history. Influences outside of a nation, as well as within, shape the course of national events. Nations are "parochial" entities, of recent date.

Toynbee then finds the record of civilized man to consist of 21 civilizations or societies, excluding eight others which were aborted or became arrested before reaching maturity. Fifteen of the 21 societies have disappeared, five are in process of disintegration, and the Western civilization—our own—is the only one that remains potentially capable of survival.

In the life history of a civilization, if it did not meet with an abortive or arrested fate, a progression of periods can be made out which resembles those seen in other civilizations. This consists of the genesis of the civilization, a period of growth, a time of trouble during which attempts at solution are made by the formation of a universal state and a universal church, and finally disintegration. But the process is not fatalistic and inevitable. There is a rhythm to it, but history need not go on monotonously repeating itself in this predetermined way. By becoming aware of the pattern, by recognizing the forces at work and avoiding false solutions, breakdown and disintegration can be avoided. Toynbee is no prophet of doom.

Civilizations may arise as offshoots of others or seem unrelated. In either case they arise as a reaction to the milieu within and without, "... creation is the outcome of an encounter, ... genesis is a product of interaction." The challenges may be too great, but they also must not be too little. No simple explanation based

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on race or environment adequately explains the genesis of a civilization.

It is in his concept of what constitutes the growth of a civilization that one can discover the keystone of Toynbee's philosophy. Growth is a continual process of challenge and response sufficient to take on another challenge. When growth ceases, it can be followed only by breakdown and disintegration. Growth is not correlative with conquest or advancement in technique. They may be stages in the process but not the whole process. Sooner or later, if the growth period is not to end, there must be a turning from the external environment to the internal, from the challenges of the outside to the challenges that come from within the civilization itself. The idea may be expressed in other ways, as a shift from overcoming external obstacles or adversaries to inward self-articulation or self-determination, a change of emphasis from the macrocosm to the microcosm. Essentially it is the apprehension of human values and the growth of soul.

As long as growth continues there is peace in the society. This growth is the work of a creative minority. The majority approves and follows and the barbarian outside stands quiet awed more by the vitality of the civilization before him than by the force of its arms. A civilization invaded from without is stimulated; it succumbs only when it is already disintegrating from within.

The breakdown begins when growth ceases, when the creative minority has become a power-holding minority, the "dominant minority." The breakdown of a civilization is not due to cosmic influences such as determine the seasons. Nor can it be explained by drawing an analogy between a society and organic life with its pattern of birth, growth, decline and death. Nor because there is a deterioration in the human stock of the civilization from "over-refinement." Nor because of overwhelming blows from the human or physical environment.

With cessation of growth there is loss

of self-determination. Forces exist in the process of growth itself which, if not recognized, could bring this about. The creative minority in its upward striving can entice the inert majority to follow only through drill and imitation ("mimesis")—a sort of hypnotism from without instead of from inner urge. There is the danger that the creative minority will fall a prey to its own tool and become mechanized instead of remaining creative. Another factor of the loss of self-determination is the increasing discrepancy or inadequacy between existing institutions and newer forces, with the result that there arise exploitation, bigotry, injustices, and attempts are made at adjustment by revolution and war.

Furthermore creativity has its own nemesis. The same minority in a civilization is seldom equal to a second creative spurt. It "rests on its oars" after the first. The perpetuation of that minority would therefore be a danger to that civilization. Particularly disastrous to a civilization is militarism, the very antithesis of creativeness. Victory itself has led to unwise exercise of power and subsequent ruin.

With the loss of creativeness and cessation of growth comes a falling-out in the alignment of the groups composing the society. Division extends to the body and soul of the society. The creative minority having lost its power of attraction by the magnetism of its creativeness, must resort to force to continue exercising power. The majority resists and attacks from within and constitutes the "internal proletariat;" the barbarian shakes off the magnetic spell, attacks from without and constitutes the "external proletariat." The new groups channelize their energies through new institutions, the dominant minority through the universal state, the internal proletariat through the universal church, and the external proletariat through war bands.

The division in the body of the society is only the external evidence of what has taken place in its soul. The personal and social attitudes of the individuals composing the various groups have undergone

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change, though not all in the same way. Alternative ways of behavior and feeling are vainly seized upon to fill the void left by the fleeing creative faculty and spirit. The full gamut of behavior is tried, from complete abandon to rigid self-control on the personal side; from truancy to martyrdom on the social side. In the domain of feeling, on the personal side the range may be all the way from a sense of drift, as if all were chance, to a sense of sin, as if all were within mastery; and on the social side, as evidenced in the arts and religion, from a stylelessness and formlessness to an all embracing sense of unity. In the domain of life or goal Toynbee does not see substitutes but variations from what takes place in the period of growth, that is, the transference of the field of action from the macrocosm to the microcosm. The alternatives of archaism (back to a past) or futurism (Utopia), are "alternative attempts to substitute a mere transfer in the time-dimension for that transfer of the field of action from one spiritual plane to another which is the characteristic movement of growth." Although one is passive and the other active, they both end in violence. On the other hand, detachment and transfiguration, to which archaism and futurism respectively lead, do presuppose a change in "spiritual climate." But detachment and transfiguration differ from each other. The one leads to withdrawal, the other to withdrawal and return to a life on a higher spiritual plane. No other substitute avails.

It remains to be seen how Toynbee's dynamics for a civilization apply to the individual. It is a legitimate comparison to make, for Toynbee himself does not consider a society as something apart from the individuals composing it. "A society, we may say, is a product of the relations between individuals, and these relations of theirs arise from the coincidence of their individual fields of action. This coincidence combines the individual fields into a common ground, and this common ground is what we call a society. If this definition is accepted, an important . . . corollary emerges from it. Society is a 'field of

action' but the *source* of all action is in the individuals composing it." Such a concept must be the keystone of any theory of society if it is not to be pessimistic. Otherwise any approach to a society is made difficult if not well nigh impossible, for what would be the purpose of influencing the individual if the society is governed by its own laws independent of those that apply to the individual as an individual.

Toynbee's division of the society into classes is not to be taken as meaning the same thing as Plato's or Marx's or others made by political philosophers. The creative minority and the majority arise spontaneously into mutually acceptable roles. Economic determinism is not what breaks up the society into the dominant minority and the internal and external proletariats. It is when the creative minority perpetuates itself on any basis other than creativeness that it becomes the dominant minority and when that civilization begins its decline.

To Toynbee growth is the criterion of the vitality of a civilization. It is growth not in the sense of expansion or power alone but in the sense of self-determination and self-articulation. It is the same test for the psychological health of the individual that has been coming more and more to the fore recently. In terms of the individual it would be in an inner feeling of "I," a greater spontaneity and an ever-increasing responsibility for his own destiny. As long as growth continues there is no fear that the individual will not meet the ordinary shocks of life successfully.

The comparison between the individual and society will also stand up in evaluating the factors that go into the failure of growth and self-determination. Just as the society may fall a prey to the machine that it itself created, so the individual may fall a prey to mechanistic thinking. Instead of growth and continual reorientation with new insights and values, the individual, like society, may try to pour "new wine into old bottles." Inner conflicts will arise which will paralyze the individual or lead to compulsive solutions. The society's idolization of an ephemeral self or ephemeral institution or technique may be compared

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with the individual's need for always being right; militarism with the neurotic need for power; and intoxication of victory with pride.

There is no substitute for growth. When growth ceases there is a dissociation in the body and soul of the individual as there is in society. The sharpened divisions in the society between the various groups have their counterparts in the individual with the separation of "intelligence" from "feeling" and the latter even into "instincts." In both cases the essential point is that the whole gives way to its parts.

Even closer is the resemblance of the attitudes to life taken by individuals in a disintegrating civilization and those disturbed by inner conflicts. Both are seeking

solutions. Toynbee's "antithetical and antipathetic variations or substitutions" for creative living of society (abandon vs. control etc.) easily coincide with the movements and manoeuvres which Horney has described for individuals.

The analogy between individuals in a civilization in the stage of breakdown and individuals in conflict within themselves can be drawn longer and tighter and neater. Suffice it to say that the solution is the same for both, the repossession of the power for growth.

Much evidence in support of Toynbee's general thesis for civilizations may be found in the lives of the individuals of our own civilization.

—BERNARD ZUGER, M.D.



## ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF PSYCHOANALYSIS

### PRESIDENT'S REPORT—1946-1947

The Association has continued in the past year its monthly scientific meetings at the New York Academy of Medicine. Clinical and theoretical papers were presented by members and by Dr. Harold Lasswell who discussed the relationship of the social sciences to psychoanalysis. As in the past, monthly Interval Meetings, limited to members and candidates-in-training, were held at the American Institute for Psychoanalysis. The size of the group made possible an almost total participation in the discussion of the newly-formulated and controversial concepts presented.

The *American Journal of Psychoanalysis*, the organ of the Association, continues to

be published annually and is increasing in circulation.

The Association has again received a donation of seven thousand dollars from Mr. Cornelius Crane, who has consistently and generously supported us in our program. Part of these funds were disbursed as a loan fellowship to a candidate, freeing him for a more effective application to his studies in the Institute.

The above facts are indicative of the continued growth of the Association. The spirit that has made this development possible is felt by our friends and by those who made them actualities.

—HAROLD KELMAN, M.D.

### SCIENTIFIC MEETINGS

#### *Regular Meetings at the New York Academy of Medicine*

NEUROTIC CONFLICTS AND PHYSICAL SYMPTOMS. (*Frederick A. Weiss*) Published in the *American Journal of Psychoanalysis*, Vol. VI, No. 1, 1946.

EMOTIONAL ELEMENTS IN MODERN ART. (*Charles R. Hulbeck*) There is a marked contrast between the symbolism in modern art and in older works of art. Modern paintings symbolize feelings of rage, hostility, strife, loneliness, and the element of ugliness and desolation. Older paintings symbolize feelings of love, tenderness, and affection. These changes reflect changes in the culture, changes in the artist's attitude toward the culture, and changes in

the cultural attitude toward the artist.

Each painting also symbolizes the artist's own attitudes toward his individual conflicts and toward his conflicts with the environment. We see reflected in his work solutions of conflict within himself, and we may even see changes in these solutions from time to time.

SELF HATE AND HUMAN RELATIONS. (*Karen Horney*) We have reason to be dissatisfied with ourselves when we fail to aspire to or do not achieve our potentialities as a human being. Healthy dissatisfaction leads to constructive action. However, when our claims for ourselves are irrational, we have contempt for our real achievements and succumb to destruc-

tive self-hatred. Self-hate also results when the irrational claims we make on others are not fulfilled.

All neurotic individuals strive toward irrational goals of superiority. Some drive toward unlimited power, recognition, or success; others achieve superlative heights in their imagination, and others indicate their supremacy strivings by perfectionistic goals. In all of these drives are seen a need for vindictive triumph and an enormous pride.

These superiority strivings originate in early childhood, are defenses against basic anxiety, and serve as a means of survival in the face of a severely injured self-esteem which is then replaced by a false pride. In the pursuit of phantoms of supremacy, the individual suffers in two ways. He sustains a greater loss of self-confidence since he looks down at his real self from the heights of imaginary superiority. This self-contempt may take the form of hostility toward others, toward himself, or may be felt as contempt from others. This interferes seriously with his capacity to love or to believe in his own lovability, makes him feel vulnerable, and results in disturbance in his relationship to himself and others.

The individual in the grip of these drives is faced with two dilemmas. On the one hand, he needs the love of others badly yet feels unlovable and cannot believe that anyone can really like him. On the other hand, he needs people to affirm his vast superiority, yet cannot relate himself to them because of his diminished capacity to give love.

To get out of these dilemmas he may resort to any number of neurotic solutions. He may exclude love and consciously drive himself toward goals of supremacy, since he feels that he could never be liked anyhow. Or, he may do nothing in reality and attempt to achieve satisfaction by living in reflected glory or the admiration which may come to him through a partner or through children. Or, he may envelop

himself in a thick armor of righteousness which protects him from self-doubt. Or, the individual may be resigned to never getting anything for himself and so look around for someone to take over for him. In this instance, he needs the partner for survival and may become seemingly self-effacing.

In treating this dilemma of irrational pride and self-hatred, it is most important to work through the attitudes toward self. These may become apparent only in the light of the individual's human relations. For the restoration of real self-esteem, it is necessary to get out of the vicious circle of false pride, to relinquish illusions, and to modify the search for absolute success. When an individual stops looking down on himself from the false heights of great imaginary superiority and ceases invidious comparison, his healthy, self-confidence increases. When the false pride is loosened and the illusions are dispensed with, the individual can begin to develop.

THE DATA OF PSYCHOANALYSIS AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES. (Harold W. Lasswell)  
Published in this issue.

PSYCHOANALYTIC NOTES ON LOSING AND SAVING FACE. (Alexander R. Martin) To be published in the next issue of the *American Journal of Psychoanalysis*.

COMPULSIVE ASSAULTIVENESS. (Muriel Ivimey) An elaboration of the same topic presented at an Interval Meeting—summarized on page 70.

ENVIRONMENTAL INFLUENCES ON THE PSYCHOANALYTIC SITUATION. (Paul Lussheimer) To be published in the next issue of the *American Journal of Psychoanalysis*

SHORT THERAPIES—AN EVALUATION. (Harold Kelman) Published in this issue.

**Interval Meetings at the American  
Institute for Psychoanalysis**

PSYCHOANALYTIC THERAPY" BY ALEXANDER AND FRENCH. (*Valer Barbu*) This book was chosen for discussion because its authors claimed to have shortened therapy by a change in theory, focus, and technique. On the positive side, the book brings attention to the problem of the more economic use of time, attempts to get away from a rigid and static theory, and is an excellent example of cooperative undertaking. However, an analysis of the case material shows that the authors did not accomplish that which they had set out to do. The complexities of the patient's difficulties in the present were not recognized or treated. Rather, his difficulties were related to his relationships with his father and mother, and he was analyzed in terms of the past. Rather than helping the patient grow in strength so that he would be enabled to handle his own problems, the analyst's energies were directed to manipulating the environment. The character structure of the patient was not touched.

The dangers of this book are that it is seductive and misleading. It gives a false sense of hope to both patients and analysts, leading them to feel that a quick magical cure can be obtained by manipulating the hours and concentrating on the problem of dependency. It emphasized speed of treatment rather than improvement of theory, adjustment rather than effective therapy, relief of symptoms rather than growth and full use of capacities. It was felt that while the title of the book was *Psychoanalytic Therapy*, it was really a book on psychotherapy. (This book was reviewed in the *American Journal of Psychoanalysis*, Vol. VI, No. 1, 1946.)

ECONOMIC USE OF TIME IN PSYCHOANALYSIS. (*Muriel Iwimey*) This question was discussed from the point of view of using time in analysis more effectively and for broader goals—in contradistinction to that point of view which focuses only

on the shortening of time for therapy. Methods which would enable us to accomplish broader goals would appreciably affect the actual length of the analysis.

One of the aims of analysis is to acquire an awareness of the patient's compulsions and conflicts. The analyst uses his energies in resolving those forces which resist change and in releasing the patient's constructive forces. Further aims of analysis are to help the patient achieve the experience of inner change, get relief of symptoms, reduce basic anxiety, and acquire the ground work for self-analysis. It was thought that a greater directness in defining and approaching the problems of the patient would be one basis for more effective work. Therefore the discussion was focused on delimiting those factors in the analytic process which inhibit directness of approach, and those factors which further more constructive work.

The analyst's share in the process is the clarification of the dynamics of the constructive and retarding forces within the patient and an evaluation of the solutions the patient has used in order to continue functioning despite his conflicts. Further, the analyst should have a clear knowledge of general human motivations.

The analyst's own attitude toward work, his own inhibitions in making efforts, and the remnants of neurotic compulsions may prevent the full application of this knowledge. As a result of such remnants of compulsions, the analyst would have blind spots to those particular trends; he would neither see them clearly nor be able to define them as problems in the patient.

Attitudes in the patient which retard work are: (1) regarding his neurosis as an isolated disease quite apart from himself, (2) shirking responsibility for his own neurosis and its consequences, (3) self-destructiveness which does not allow the patient to improve, (4) wanting to frustrate others, resulting in the patient's entering into a personalized battle with the analyst to his own detriment, and (5) extreme hopelessness. Therefore it be-

comes important for the analyst to focus sharply on the basic problems engendering these attitudes: self-hate, self-destructiveness, hopelessness, alienation from self, living in imagination, and inertia.

Possible methods for tackling these problems were discussed. One method would be clear delineation of neurotic personality types and the working out techniques for these specific types. After such classifications were made, we might find that certain types require a longer time for treatment than do others. For example, the greater the alienation from self, or the greater the degree of living in imagination, the longer the time required for arousing interest in himself.

Another suggested method which would lead to greater directness was, that at the beginning of the analysis, active plans for the conducting of the analysis should be made by the analyst. He should decide whether to focus first on analyzing, or supporting the patient, or relieving anxiety, or respecting the patient's need for distance, or on blockages, such as argumentativeness, or on all of these, or on combinations. He should plan and decide which aspects of the personality he is going to analyze first and which later. More effort should be made to arouse the constructive forces within the patient and to point these out to him. It was also felt that a clear detailed history of the patient showing the major orientations to life is of great importance. Such a history will enable us to better decide which characteristics should be worked through first.

Great stress was placed on more directness in approaching self-berating as a problem. If the analyst has a feeling of faith in the patient's ultimate desire to improve, caution with regard to this problem is not as necessary. Another point of approach to the problem of more effective analysis was that it would be helpful to repudiate all that has been considered mysterious and esoteric in the analytic process.

Of all the problems discussed two were considered as crucial. Namely, the patient's own attitude to himself and his neurosis, and the analyst's self-knowledge and constant faith in the patient's desire to grow and develop.

**PRIDE AND SELF HATE IN PSYCHOANALYTIC THERAPY.** (*Karen Horney*) Patients in whom self hatred is in the foreground, present attitudes of self-minimizing, self-accusing and self-frustrating with a resulting low self-confidence, feelings of having no rights, being unwanted, worthless. From others they long for or demand as their right, love, support, and company, often as protection against their own vindictive self-hatred and despair. They have renounced ambition, feel pride comes before a fall, and are in terror of any competition which would make them aware of the crushing of all belief in themselves.

Other patients in whom pride is in the foreground, show a constant attitude of high pride, triumph, and lofty claims, not necessarily related to realistic achievement. Their claims are supported by arrogance, rigid rightness, the ignoring or embellishing of their own faults, and the blaming or disparaging of others, while from others they wish constant admiration and recognition.

Patients vary in willingness and ability to examine these attitudes. Early in analysis pride may be closer to the patient's awareness and therefore more accessible, or he may be wholly unaware of such feelings and only self-contempt is accessible, although occasionally both are accessible and can be tackled. However, these attitudes toward the self are basic in determining relations with others. Pride and self-hatred are never present singly but are always inseparable. The patient must be able to see both before he can see that each depends on the presence of the other, and that in both cases he fears and expects humiliation, taking only in each case a different route toward safety from it: in pride, he struggles to feel superior in order to overwhelm it; in self-hatred, he

abases himself, hoping no one can be so cruel as to humiliate him further.

Only when the patient begins to see what his claims are, what he demands or expects of others and of himself, and what he feels entitled to, can it become clear to him how he actually regards himself, and can he become aware at what cost he tears himself apart with bitter vindictive attack or insatiable ambition because of his failure to live up to his enormous claims on himself.

**UNCONSCIOUS INSIGHT.** (*Harold Kellman*) Insight in an analytic sense means insight about oneself. Insight is an understanding about oneself which comes from within and which is essentially one's own. It is the analyst's task to aid in the becoming conscious of unconscious insight. Conscious insight increases one's capacity for self-analysis and may speed up the constructive change.

Insight may be valid or invalid. An insight is valid when it is followed by constructive change as evidenced by the weakening of existing neurotic solutions, strengthening of available constructive forces, awareness of previously unconscious neurotic solutions. There is usually an associated feeling of relief with an increased zest for living. An insight may be followed by an increase in psychic pain and an increase of symptoms. In the individual who is bent on vindictive triumph, insight may be followed by irritation, chagrin, and disappointment, because to such a person becoming human is a weakness. A feeling of humility and sobriety is of importance for true insight. With invalid insight, there is an absence of constructive change, although there may be a feeling of uplift or even ecstasy. Very exceptionally an insight gained in a state of ecstasy may prove to be a true insight as evidenced by constructive changes which become obvious later.

Unconscious insight may be a concomitant of dreaming whether recalled or in-

terpreted. Psychosomatic symptoms may be a consequence of such insights.

Valid and invalid intuition and beliefs are related to the phenomenon of insight. An increase of intuitive powers is a characteristic of the good analyst. Those patients who have invalid insights usually have invalid intuitions and convictions. The latter stem from the periphery of the personality, and are invested with irrational pride and require urgent affirmation by others because of the underlying doubt regarding their validity.

**PSYCHOANALYSIS AFTER FIFTY.** (*Charles R. Hulbeck*) Until recently analysts were pessimistic regarding analysis of patients over fifty believing the individual reached his fullest potentialities by thirty. Freud felt the process would be interminable because of the lack of elasticity, the rigidity toward learning, and the mass of experiences to be analyzed. Organic disease and loss of physical attractiveness were looked on as rendering prognosis more unfavorable, although Abraham stated that a previously normal sex life in the patient gave a good prognosis.

Contemporary analysts do not share this view. Horney says, "Man can change and go on changing so long as he lives, and possesses capacity as well as desire to develop his potentialities," and Martin finds that rigidity is primarily a defense against anxiety, and that memory defects arise from failures in observation, due to feelings of futility and hopelessness.

At present, factors considered favorable in analysis of older patients are that such a patient is usually intelligent, has a serious attitude toward the work, a realization of having no time to waste, a conscious willingness to cooperate and learn. He has evaluated reality factors, is aware of his objective accomplishments and has usually given up fantastic expectations of cure from outside sources.



Unfavorable factors are present in irreversible organic defects, in the numerous layers of protective devices which gave pseudo security and are not readily given up, and in the choice of love as a neurotic solution, as this is disturbed by loss of old friends. In selecting older patients for therapy, prognostic factors in both patient and environment must be evaluated and considerable flexibility exercised in setting the therapeutic goal.

**COMPULSIVE ASSAULTIVENESS IN DOCTOR-PATIENT RELATIONS.** (*Muriel Ivi-mey*) This paper discussed the extremely difficult problem in patient-doctor relationship presented by the patient who persistently and unremittently attacks the analyst in verbal abuse and in phantasies of physical violence. This problem was selected (1) because in this type of transference patients are apt to go to many analysts in succession, resulting in much waste of time and effort; and (2) because in the experience of the writer no analysis of such a patient has been carried through to successful termination.

Three past analyses were presented in brief, and a fourth current analysis was discussed in detail. It was concluded that the main inner conflict between compulsive self-aggrandizement and self-degradation was totally externalized as a defense against self-hatred and self-destructiveness. This resulted in insoluble conflict in the relationship with the analyst in which the patient was frustrated in his need for confirmation of his idealized image because at the same time he must project onto the analyst his own despised image and vent his destructive impulses on the analyst. It was deemed advisable to postpone analysis of externalizing trends because of the patient's complete intolerance and the risk of self-destruction. Since in this patient compulsive detachment was also in active operation, the attempt was made to approach the problem of the severely disadvantageous trans-

ference by way of encouraging independent self-analysis with as much supportive and confirmatory participation on the part of the analyst as the patient could accept. The rationale was that the patient's severely weakened self might gain in strength through spontaneous insights relating to her self-aggrandizement.

Some progress was made in this phase of the work to the point of symptomatic improvement. At the same time the patient became assailed by unconscious inner dangers as she came closer to her despised self. Externalizing trends became reinforced as a defense. In reaction to symptomatic improvement, strong needs for vindictive triumph became increased. The patient "won out" in the analytic situation by terminating analysis.

This experience indicates the need for further study of the problems of neurotic pride and self-hatred. It also indicates needs for improvement and further experience in therapeutic techniques, especially in respect to selection and timing of interpretations.

**LANDMARKS IN THE STUDIES OF DREAM-INTERPRETATION.** (*Paul Lussheimer*) Published in this issue.

**SYMPOSIUM ON THE LECTURE COURSE, "AT WAR WITH OURSELVES".** (*Karen Horney, moderator*) At this meeting, after a brief introduction by Dr. Horney summarizing the main content of the course, candidates and members brought up many questions for which there had not been time or opportunity in the larger public meetings at the New School. The material was discussed freely, informally and in much detail. The aspect of the material which drew the most critical attention at the beginning was how is it related to Horney's theory of neurosis as a whole. The consensus was that in broad outline the course focused on the problems developing out of the construction of the idealized image as a neurotic solution of con-

flict, and on the extensive weakening of the personality due to widely discrepant self-evaluations. From this point discussion went on to explore the many intricate ramifications and interconnections in the

character structure and the effects in the life of the neurotic individual. Much interesting and valuable clinical material and therapeutic experience was contributed by the participants.

## THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR PSYCHOANALYSIS

### ANNUAL REPORT

In reviewing the year's work we have turned our attention toward a closer coordination of the three main parts of the training program. We are thinking more comprehensively and also more concretely in terms of true educational goals—specifically correlating the student's personal development, his greater freedom and spontaneity, and his becoming an active and productive professional worker.

These concerns have hitherto been implicit factors in the total plan of study, and are now explicitly in the foreground of our planning. They are expressed concretely in the standards of performance, progress, and achievement now in operation. We are out not only for the student's learning what is offered in the formal course of study, but also for his developing more self-reliance, freer access to his own resources, fuller use of his capacities and drawing more on his own efforts. When difficulties are in evidence, such as limitations in work and disturbances in human relations, as shown during participation in courses and in supervised analytic work, these difficulties are referred to the student's personal analyst. This aims at his becoming more effective in work through better human relations with colleagues, instructors, and patients, together with the practical application of psychological knowledge. Thus within the training period, this closer correlation of the personal analysis with other phases of the work unifies the program, improves the prospect of unified personal and professional development, and in the long

run, we believe, will lead to further advances in psychoanalytic theory and practice by well-trained workers.

In order to further these broad educational aims, the following policies are in effect: to allocate responsibility equally to instructors and candidates for the value and success of a course; to stimulate active participation by candidates in discussions and in contributing material in seminars; to require term papers in those courses in which there is insufficient opportunity for general discussion; to encourage interest in assisting as junior instructors in courses for which senior candidates are qualified to take such a part.

Writing, in our opinion, is of invaluable aid in clarifying and organizing ideas and in becoming aware of areas in which further study is necessary. Problems also present themselves which may become the subject for further research. Last year some of the term papers revealed real writing talent; some revealed a much better understanding than was evidenced in oral communications. Papers of outstanding merit may be recommended to the Editorial Committee of the *American Journal of Psychoanalysis*. Opportunities and practice in teaching help concretely in building up a larger teaching personnel in the Institute. From the point of view of candidates, practice in both writing and teaching leads to greater personal confidence and security, and more interest, zest, and enjoyment in work.

We wish to announce that the American Institute for Psychoanalysis has been granted a provisional charter of incorpora-

tion by the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York, State Department of Education. Under Section 22 of the Commissioner's Regulations, the courses of study offered by the Institute are approved for a period of three years. The courses offered by the Institute are approved by the Veterans Administration under the G. I. Bill of Rights.

Announcement is made of the appointment of Frederick A. Weiss, M. D., as training analyst in the American Institute for Psychoanalysis.

The course "Readings in Psychoanalysis, Part 1, the Works of Freud," scheduled for next year will be given under the chairmanship of one instructor, with the participating candidates carrying a substantial share of the work in preparing and presenting material. Special attention will be paid to critical evaluation and polemic discussion of Freud's concepts as compared with our present formulations.

"Theory of Neurosis," given in ten lectures two years ago, will be offered again next year in fifteen lectures. In the interval, much new work has been done in expanding and elaborating our theory of neurosis, with special focus on problems of conflicting self-evaluations and how the neurotic individual solves these conflicts. This new material will be included in the coming course on theory.

The course "Psychiatry and Psychoanalysis" has been still further studied with a view to produce improvements and changes in organization. Material on short therapies, such as shock and group therapies, hypnoanalysis and narcosynthesis, will be included in this course, rather than in the "Readings in Psychoanalysis, Part II," as given last year.

The course "Problems in Patient-Analyst Relationship," given in ten sessions in the spring of 1947, was an extension and elaboration of the short five-session course given for the first time two years ago. It was felt that more time and more opportunity for clinical discussion was needed for this important technical subject. Instead of being presented in ten lectures, as

first planned, the course opened with five lectures and the last five sessions consisted of presentations of case material by candidates. The focus was divided between patients' problems in relation with the analyst and analysts' problems in relation with patients, with somewhat greater emphasis on the latter aspect of difficulty. Special attention was directed to the retarding effect on progress in therapy due to disturbances in human relations.

A "Seminar on the Interpretation of Dreams," given two years ago, will be given again next year. This important course presents recent developments in our concepts of the significance of dreams which are of value in therapy.

The course "The Analytic Process," given for the first time last year, was unanimously evaluated as most valuable. This course focuses on the life history of the patient and the experience in analytic therapy with the unique emphasis on process and change. It is of particular value for those starting analytic practice in so far as it aids in the recognition of what is going on in therapy and in guiding the analyst in conducting analysis and in planning and directing the work. It will be given again next year and, according to present opinion, will become a standard advanced technical course.

At the New School for Social Research, the course "Neuroses and Psychoses" was well attended and well received, and will be repeated next year. Several senior candidates participated as lecturers. The same senior lecturer, assisted by senior candidates, will conduct the course in the coming year. This course, listed as an elective course, was felt to be of special value to beginning candidates in the Institute's training program who continue psychiatric practice pending qualification for supervised analytic work. It focuses on the dynamics of psychic disturbances as seen according to our present theory, and offers many helpful concepts regarding the patient under psychiatric treatment.

The course "At War With Ourselves: Self-acceptance and Self-condemnation"

was attended to capacity. It was to be regretted that many who wished to attend could not be accommodated. The course presented original work on the essential conflicts in attitudes toward the self. It focused mainly on incompatible self-evaluations—self-glorification and self-hatred. This material is a significant contribution to our theory of neurosis. It will be the subject of a forthcoming publication in book form, and will be included in the course on "Theory of Neurosis."

The "Seminar on Personal Case Histories" will be given for the fifth consecutive year. It is felt that the course is a valuable introduction to the concept of character structure and familiarizes the student with thinking in terms of the complex and interrelated forces at play in neurosis.

"Confronting the Modern World: Problems of Children and Adolescents" was given by a member of the faculty with extensive experience in social agencies. It was well attended by professional social workers, and highly appreciated by candidates especially interested in child psychiatry. In response to many requests from representatives of special non-medical professional groups, qualified candidates will conduct a series of short seminars next year respectively for social workers, clergymen, and personnel workers. These seminars will be given under the auspices of the Auxiliary Council of the Association for the Advancement of Psychoanalysis.

A lecture course entitled "Literary Figures in the Light of Modern Psychoanalysis" will be given at the New School next year. Psychoanalytic studies of fifteen characters in literature, ranging from the works of Shakespeare to those of great present-day writers, will be presented.

—MURIEL IVIMEY, M.D.  
*Assistant to the Dean*

#### CANDIDATE'S GROUP

During the past year the increase in size of this group from 19 to 40 members brought the principal focus of attention to becoming acquainted with the diverse backgrounds, special fields of experience and interest represented by the present candidates. New members with recent experience in military psychiatry, in private and state hospitals, in shock therapy research and in private practice, stimulated new lines for research and investigation, and projects for testing out newer theories in various aspects of psychiatry and psychoanalysis.

The activities of this group included regular monthly discussion meetings devoted to the clinical and theoretic aspects of schizophrenia, recent contributions to psychotherapy with children, and examination of psychosomatic problems from the standpoint of newer contributions to the understanding of neurosis.

All members took part in the general discussion at interval meetings. Two presented papers at the regular meetings of the Association held at the Academy of Medicine, and two were discussants of papers presented by members of the Association.

Several members assisted in the teaching of courses given at the American Institute for Psychoanalysis and at The New School for Social Research. Several gave lectures to the public under the auspices of the ACAAP, and at Hunter College, City College, Queens College, the Y.W.C.A. of New York, and the Brooklyn Academy of Music.

Members participated with ACAAP on the library and liaison committees and with the Association as editorial assistants and contributors to the journal.

—BELLA S. VAN BARK, M.D.  
*Chairman of Candidate Group*



## THE AUXILIARY COUNCIL TO THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF PSYCHOANALYSIS

### ANNUAL REPORT

On May 5th, 1947 the Auxiliary Council, now becoming more and more widely known as ACAAP, celebrated its Fifth Anniversary at the Hotel Pennsylvania with a symposium on "Mature Attitudes in a Changing World." The participants were Dr. Karen Horney, who spoke from the standpoint of modern psychoanalysis; Dr. Margaret Mead, from the point of view of anthropology; Dr. Eduard Lindeman, for the social sciences; and Mr. Edwin J. Lukas as an expert in criminology. Dr. Houston Peterson, former Professor of Social Philosophy at Cooper Union and now at Rutgers University, was moderator, and Miss Alice Brophy officiated as chairman of this significant event. Over 950 persons attended and thousands heard it over radio station WNYC. The success of this symposium was further indicated by the newspaper publicity and the great number of telephone calls and letters received from interested listeners.

In five years, ACAAP's membership has grown from 18 to 497, having added 220 in the past year, during which its regular activities were continued and some new ones added. At the Henry Hudson Hotel, a free series of 8 lectures entitled "Modern Orientations in Psychoanalysis" had an average attendance at each lecture of about 350, and a paid series of 9 lectures based on chapters in *Are You Considering Psychoanalysis?* reached an audience of about 3,000. The following topics were chosen in the free series in response to the requests of the audience:

Guidance of Child Development  
Dr. Norman Kelman  
Psychoanalysis in Our Time  
Dr. Charles R. Hulbeck  
Character and Physical Symptoms  
Dr. Frederick A. Weiss  
Vocational Guidance  
Dr. Sara Breitbart  
Maturity  
Dr. Bella S. Van Bark  
Prejudice  
Dr. Eleanor Crissey  
Shock Therapy  
Dr. Abe Pinsky  
Alcoholism  
Dr. Isadore Portnoy

The popularity of the monthly discussion groups for members, at which two analysts preside, has continued. The topics on which enlightenment was most frequently requested related to emotional disturbances in children, problems in marriage, difficulties in job relationships and in creative work. To greet new members and acquaint them with the history and activities of ACAAP and to help them find ways to participate in its work, monthly orientation meetings have been initiated.

Through ACAAP's efforts, the library of the Institute has grown considerably and its use by members, not only of ACAAP but of the Association and candidates-in-training, has likewise increased.

In the past year ACAAP published four additional lecture summaries, making a total of 20 and began releasing condensations of the various chapters in *Our Inner Conflicts*, the first title being "Normal and Neurotic Conflicts."

Through sales at lectures, meetings and purchases by its members ACAAP distributed 593 copies of the *American Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 604 copies of books written by members of the Association, and 20,500 lecture summaries.

While carrying the additional cost of an expanding program, ACAAP has found it possible to repay a \$750.00 loan from the Association and to contribute \$500.00 towards its share in the operating expenses. These facts point to ACAAP'S growing financial solvency.

In the past five years ACAAP has realized some of its possibilities for furthering community education in psychoanalysis, and sees new directions in the expansion of its functions. As a first step, three seminars of five sessions each have been planned for ministers, social workers, and personnel consultants. Seminars for other specialized groups, as teachers and nurses, are projected, as well as discussion groups for parents. These additional activities represent a partial fulfillment of ACAAP'S goals for the next five years.

—HAROLD KELMAN, M.D.  
*Chairman of Liason Committee*

**MATURE ATTITUDES  
IN A CHANGING WORLD**

*A symposium celebrating the Fifth  
Anniversary of the Auxiliary  
Council to the Association  
for the Advancement of  
Psychoanalysis*

## **SYMPOSIUM**

**Mature Attitudes in a Changing World**

**HOUSTON PETERSON, *moderator***

**ALICE M. BROPHY, *ACAAP chairman***

### *Discussants:*

**MARGARET MEAD**

**EDWIN LUCAS**

**KAREN HORNEY**

**EDUARD LINDEMAN**

**Hotel Pennsylvania**

**May 5th, 1947**

## MATURITY AND SOCIETY

MARGARET MEAD\*

WHEN I was asked to talk on this program I was glad to do so because I am very much concerned with the fact that psychoanalysis has given us a new level of awareness so that people today are in a different position, from the position that people were in two generations ago. They not only, as an old catechism said, know that rocks are, plants are and live, animals live and move and feel, and man moves and feels and knows; we have now put men into the position of people who are and move and feel and know and *know* that they know. That is the dimension that has been added to our society specifically by psychoanalysis.

Dr. Peterson said you could become mature before you died. I don't object to that at all, if it only happens about the last hour! The word "maturity" does mean to me on the whole that you have got to a place where you can't get any further. You may be doing well there for quite a while but when you start doing something else you move downhill, and you get paler, weaker, thinner, duller or something less vivid. What I really feel we need and all of us are going to discuss is a new evaluation of what growth is like in modern society.

Now in many primitive societies children are in a sense mature by the time they are seven or eight years old. Their ideas are set so hard they will never get unset again.

I tried to teach Samoan children of six or seven to skip. That is a simple thing to do but all their postures, all their gestures, all their beautiful dance forms were so set that children of six or seven couldn't learn to skip.

In the Admiralty Islands, it was almost impossible to teach children the same age to sing. If a child is taken away for several years, he may learn to sing a simple tune such as "He's a jolly good fellow." By the time they were six or seven, they had ceased to know how to be able to learn how to sing, except under very exceptional circumstances.

In many other societies, development is held in solution until past adolescence. One finds that all the attitudes in such societies have not become rigid and settled until perhaps the age of 18 or 19. But by that time, individuals have so adopted the patterns of their own society that it is not really possible for them to take on new patterns except as broken and distorted versions of the old patterns.

When we look at our own society and compare it with all sorts of societies—the Samoan, the Hottentot, the Japanese, the French and the Russian—we can of course say that any society is as mature or immature as the people in it are immature. Or we can say: If people are able to have children and bring them up, that is the simplest, lowest level of maturity. Societies have developed in the course of history that were unable to have children

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\* Associate Curator in Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History.



and bring them up. Some little groups in the South Seas have lost their courage and no children are being born at all. That can happen. There can be a failure on even this simplest level of maturity.

But even with this question of bringing up children, it may mean that as society becomes more complex, it is more important to have more people who will not have children and bring them up, because they don't get to a mature enough point to bring them up until it is too late. We need a society which contains many people who can hold themselves fluid and flexible and able to change, even though the cost is very great, even with all the help that psychoanalytic insight can give generally, or clinically.

As we move into our sort of society, we move into a world where people are not only not mature at six or seven, and not mature at the end of puberty, but go through another major crisis around the 40's, which used to be called "the dangerous age," and now may be called "the third adolescence." As our society becomes more complex we may have another adolescence at 60; whether we go further than that, of course, depends on inventions which will increase longevity.

Then again as life changes rapidly and as people have to adjust and adjust to changes and to conceptions that are as radical as the changes we have had to make since Hiroshima, it is quite possible we will have to learn how to bring up individuals with enough capacity to wait, to hold things in abeyance, to keep themselves from making final choices so that we will have a body of human beings who can carry this modern world from one period to another on toward a greater integration. That is an exceedingly expensive thing to need to do.

In primitive society where the baby is held as his mother was held and his grandmother sits by and knows that she was held in the same way—in that primitive society, you see a kind of life and a kind of security that we have lost. In return for losing it we have got instead a greater degree of awareness, a greater

degree of understanding of what is happening to us and a greater capacity to stand the demands made on us by the complexity of modern life.

So the age of maturity will rise and the number of crises of maturity, crises in growth and development, will change as civilization gets older, as society becomes more complex, until we have our 60-year-old crises in which many individuals may again show the sudden sharp vacillation of puberty.

I spent two years in Bali trying to see what happened to adolescents there, to see if they went back to eating too much or to the erratic movements which characterize our adolescents. They did not. They went through the behavior which characterizes our little children and our adolescents only once—as little children. As adolescents, their behavior was already too patterned to show these fluctuations. But we get such behavior not only at puberty but also around 35 to 40 and probably will get it again at 60! It is a temporary return to some of the solutions of childhood, under the stress of having to make new choices in a changing world.

As the demands on the individual for delaying and holding in suspension, holding carefully in his hands his capacity to meet the demands of the world, differ from society to society, so they must differ from individual to individual, too. One of the things that modern psychology in all its forms is teaching us is the difference between the individual who matures at 12 physically and the individual who matures at 20 or even gain an inch at 25. Those individual rhythms of growth are so different that any society that attempts to force the individual into one mold is bound to violate some for the sake of the others.

One of the things we have the task of creating is the kind of culture in which the sturdy, stout little boy who is grown up at 12 and the tall, lanky boy who isn't grown up until 25, and the sturdy little girl who is already placed at 11 and the slow, lumpy big girl who does not thin out until 18, will each find a place in

which their personal contribution to civilization will not be compromised by these differences in their rhythm of growth. The problem of creating such a society, a society that can give its children that security, does not depend on arrangements which keep children in the same place or provide for the children hearing the same words over and over, but on arrangements which make a child strong enough to face the fact that although neither the same faces nor the same words may be heard again, that life is important and

human life must go on. That is the task that faces us as a society. The insights which have come from the study of human personality, which are summed up under the heading of the word "psychoanalysis," are one of our most valuable tools in learning not only to understand ourselves and those individuals whom we have tried or whom we wish to help, but also learning more and more about the inner relationships between the forces of a society and the development of each individual child who grows up in it.

## MATURITY AND CRIME

EDWIN LUKAS\*

**I**F YOUNG people survive the quarrels of politicians and the experimentation of enthusiastic amateurs, living in the Atomic Age will be an exciting adventure for them. So exciting indeed, does it promise to be that we of this generation experience a species of enthralled expectancy. It is probably trite by now to remark that with the introduction of atomic energy into a gadget surfeited culture, a new horizon has been constructed on which limitless varieties of new modes of physical life will take shape each year.

In the midst of this speculative prophecy—at this threshold of an unprecedented epoch in the world's turbulent destiny from the Stone Age to the Atomic Age, what are the prospects concerning the emotional lives of our children? Specifically, what about delinquency and crime, their prevention and treatment?

On that subject, in the next few years, there will be equally as many opinions as there are fixed, dogmatic concepts of the causal relationships between behavior and, to paraphrase Samuel Butler, the complicated process of accommodating ourselves to changed (and unchanged) surroundings.

In a society already saturated with a mischievous miscellany of situations to which unprepared young people are called upon to adjust themselves, the sudden advent of a revolutionary form of energy, translated into bizarre uses, may be as vital a factor in the future of man as was

the "discovery" of fire. Fire brought with it an additional catalogue of responsibilities, all related to man's survival and to his behavior while trying to survive. Developing its use involved the solution of man's reaction to the strangely new situations which were created. Anthropologists tell us that in the process man was adequate or inadequate, as the case may be, in ratio to his emotional equipment.

Behavior scientists tell us that the explosive quality of our emotions, so often manifested in criminal behavior, is related to the ingredients and dimensions of that mysterious thing called "personality." It is by now clear—though by no means universally accepted by the public or even by penologists—that crime itself is unconsciously motivated, though consciously committed. Crime takes but a moment to commit; it requires a young lifetime to prepare.

Personality is molded in vague and wonderful ways by powerful influences. The variety of influences which shape personality is enormous; a nearly interminable list has been compiled by those students of behavior problems who believe that how a person conducts himself—in a socially acceptable or unacceptable fashion—is conditioned by such things as the home, climate, food, school, church, newspapers, work, laws, customs, grief, frustration, shock, etc.

Of course, we do not yet know as much as we would like to know about the causes

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\* Executive Director, Society for the Prevention of Crime.

of criminal behavior. But for anyone to quarrel with the doctrine that crime is but the symptom of fundamental defects in the complicated and tortured personality structure of the offender is to fly bravely, perhaps even stupidly, in the face of irrefutable evidence assembled by enlightened criminologists. A child, for example, is excessively shy, or continually aggressive and abusive. A youngster is habitually truant from school, or while there becomes unmanageable. A teen-ager, lacking parental affection and other companionship, finds attractive the fierce loyalty of the neighborhood gang in whose company he makes an effort to secure satisfactions he fancies himself denied at home. An adolescent sets fires, or quietly engages in sexual irregularities which render him a menace to himself or to others in the community. A young adult attempts suicide or is often plunged into a profound depression. These, then, are the common or not so common minor and major crises in which criminal careers take root.

We find, that, on the whole, until these early danger signals blossom into crime—until an explosion occurs—there is indifference amounting to a conspiracy of inaction. The symptoms of slight or even serious maladjustment are mostly ignored until the symptom of crime appears. On the other hand, when any of these episodes ripen into something forbidden by law, the police, courts and penal institutions suddenly spring into frantic, expensive and largely futile action. And then the community employs but one remedy: namely, punishment.

At every turn, this appalling indifference confronts us; in the home, community, the school, the courts, and the prison. We are constantly embarrassed by the shocking lack of curiosity or facilities with which to detect promptly and attempt to correct palpable personality defects.

Every era in the world's history has been characterized by a theory of crime causation and treatment. From the dawn of man's entrance onto the earth as a quivering and helpless bundle of flesh, to

his present status of gianthood among living things, the theories of why we behave or sometimes don't behave like civilized human beings have described huge arcs, from dogmatic hyperbole to modest murmurings. The hideously recessive notions of demonism and witchcraft belonged to one era. Free-will and the search for blameworthiness belonged to still another—just ending, we hope.

So far these eras have been markedly unproductive of any effective means of checking predisposition toward criminal behavior. The rate at which known criminal offenders repeat their offences after being exposed to a term of imprisonment is thought to be proportionately higher than it ever was before. The rate in some states is said to be 40% of those institutionalized. In others, 80% of the young men tonight in reformatories, it may be predicted, will repeat their offences or commit other crimes within three years after their release.

So long as the public continues to entrust known offenders—or even pre-delinquents—to socially and psychologically unoriented punishers, it is safely predictable that the incidence of crime and delinquency and recidivism in our culture will not be appreciably minimized. Such is the price paid by a society which constantly seeks to improve its physical conveniences while it is content to let well enough alone in social matters.

But, gazing into the crystal ball, the epic struggle of psychiatry and psychoanalysis to serve as a means of opening still another door leading to the profound secret of criminalism will soon culminate in deserved success. Though less is known about how to control the behavior of the split personality than the energy released by the split atom, it is sheer stubbornness to dispute the strides taken by modern mental healers to probe the unconscious motivations of troubled humans, and to gain recognition as important tools in the treatment of criminal offenders. There is more unconscious drive in civilized man than meets the eye of most untrained personnel in our prisons. Have we the right

to expect them—men who take home \$90 or \$100 per month—to discern, deal with or treat unconscious motivation?

Someone once put the matter in this wise: in neurosis, the neurotic suffers out his conflicts; in crime the criminal acts out his difficulties. Not infrequently maladjustment explodes into criminal behavior in an effort to secure a satisfying solution to conflict situations.

It is then, if someone with curiosity and competence is at hand, that the roots of the maladjustment can be explored, and dealt with. Under existing law, however, mere maladjustment or mental disorder amounting to less than legal insanity is not sufficient to lessen the harshness of the fixed punishment prescribed by law. The cases are legion, of offenders suffering from medically diagnosed irresistible impulses, obsessional neuroses, compulsive drives, epilepsy, and deeply-rooted phobias which result nevertheless in being committed to prison. Even borderline defectives help swell the prison populations throughout the country.

It is tragic enough that these somewhat helpless creatures were ignored through childhood and adolescence, in the home, the school and community, until early symptoms blossomed into delinquency and crime. It is tragic enough that what was remediable once, if perceptive and psychologically-oriented people could have been made available, takes on the aspect of serious mental and nervous disorders which defy any but intensive therapy.

But, in this context, what is the most outrageous of all is the almost complete indifference manifested by modern penology toward these offenders. The vast majority of courts and penal and correctional institutions are without the services of a single psychiatrist or psychologist. Most institutions and courts which extend those services do so as a kind of token gesture. It is not uncommon to find a part-time

psychiatrist burdened with a case-load of from 2000 to 4000 inmates. Little wonder then that the preponderant number of prisoners repeat their symptomatic behavior at a frighteningly high rate. In some places there is infinitely greater solicitude for the welfare of dumb animals—and better medical care—than for human inmates of prisons. We have heard of cruelty in 20th Century American prisons that rivals in bestiality the worst we have read of the pest-holes in which men were made to languish during the Middle Ages.

In a more mature and enlightened society, institutional facilities which are utilized for the custody of criminal offenders will be treatment centers, less pre-occupied with symptoms, more with causes; less concerned with the offense, more with the offender. Maturer attitudes than we now exhibit will result in reducing the populations of prisons from the unwieldy motley numbers now thrown together indiscriminately to small units which are more manageable administratively and therapeutically. There, with trained, sensitive and numerically adequate personnel, it will be possible to redirect the aggressiveness of those we label as anti-social into socially acceptable behavior, after imparting to them an inner tranquility now so conspicuously lacking.

Finally, we shall not be justified in adopting the posture of a truly mature society until we begin to operate preventatively—on economic, social and psychological levels—to reduce non-conforming behavior to its irreducible minimum. This will not be possible as long as people's attitudes are anchored to retribution and punishment. It will be possible, in the shadowy era we mean when we speak of the future, when simultaneous chronological and emotional maturity are less of a rarity, and people set their minds and hearts to the delicate task of preventing crime by preventing criminals.



## MATURITY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

KAREN HORNEY\*

**A**s an analyst, I shall speak of the individual, the individual who is influenced by world changes and who in turn can influence them. He can influence them for the better, the more mature he is.

Maturity is no faculty which we have or have not but it is rather a goal toward which we strive. It is not well-defined at that. It is a kind of receptacle into which everybody puts his personal ideals.

However, you would hardly disagree with me if I emphasize as essential two ingredients of maturity.—One is the ability to see the stark reality of persons or situations outside ourselves and to base our judgments and observations on the factors actually operating.

This is part of wisdom, a wisdom which everybody could approximate given sufficient insight. I gather that in certain so-called primitive tribes—who know much more about the art of living than we do—the old man or old woman not only is regarded as wise but actually is so. In our civilization, getting older is by no means identical with getting wiser. Why not? I would say simply that we do not get wiser because we do not learn from our experiences; and we do not learn from our experiences because we are too neurotic, too rigid. More specifically, we are too confined by the misty and narrow horizon of our subjectivity. That is part of what neurosis does to us. It makes us too preoccupied with ourselves, whether we are aware of it or not, whether we

want it or not. On top of our insecurity, we build a lofty edifice of arrogance which makes us believe that we are the only ones to be fair, intelligent, to understand and solve absolutely everything. In order to protect the vulnerable pride which goes with such arrogance, we see the mote in another's eyes and fail to see the beam in ours.

For instance, we saw clearly Hitler's anti-semitism but we fail to see our attitude toward Jews and Negroes.

If our pride is hurt—which it is, easily—we turn vindictive to restore it; but again we believe that it is the other who is aggressive and that we are just on a legitimate defensive. We idealize ourselves and disparage others, see dangers where there are none or exaggerate them while we fail to see the dangers where they actually are. We harbor the illusion of being utterly realistic while actually and constantly we falsify reality around us because of our egocentricity. Particularly those pride themselves on being realistic who invariably assume underhanded, hostile motives in others. Actually they are just as one-sided as those who insist that everybody is good and rational.

The other essential ingredient of maturity is the ability to assume responsibility for ourselves. I know from personal experience that many people do not even understand the meaning of the term. The word "responsibility" evokes in them the same response as it does in the landlord

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\*Dean, American Institute for Psychoanalysis.

when he grants a lease. Let us assume that most of us are responsible in this sense. But what does it mean to be *responsible for ourselves*? It involves two main things:

First, I (and nobody else) am responsible for my life, for my growth as a human being, for the development of whatever talents I have. It is of no use to imagine that others keep me down. If they actually do, it is up to me to fight them.

Secondly, I (and nobody else) am responsible for what I think, feel, say, do, decide. It is weak to blame others and it makes me weaker. It is useless to blame others, because I (and nobody else) have to bear the consequences of my being and my doing. It is harmful to shirk responsibility because I deprive myself of the possibility of growing as a human being. And I can grow only if I realize my difficulties, learn from them and eventually overcome them.

I will illustrate what I am talking about with a difference I saw in a patient. This patient occasionally drank too much and he would come and say, "Well, I don't know how it happened. They offered me too much, too many mixed drinks." Or, at best, he would say, "I drink because I feel uneasy with people." It meant a tremendous progress when some time later he came and said to himself, "I am Jimmie Jones. I (nobody else) am responsible for my actions. I should know enough not to mix drinks. I should know how to stop. I am the one who has the hangover, or who bears the loss of being late for the analysis." In his first reaction, it was placing the blame and the fault on the other person. "I don't feel at ease with people," with the implication that the analyst should have cured him of that.

In the second reaction it is: "*My* doing and *my* responsibility, *my* consequence." Only in the latter case can the individual get interested in examining his own difficulties.

This example shows how we avoid responsibility. One is to put the blame on

others. For instance, somebody may say, "I blew up, but I was provoked by something." That may be so, but it leaves out the only constructive question: what about my own vulnerability in the matter, to get so easily provoked—and what can I do about it? A favorite trick in this regard—particularly since Freud—is to put the blame on one's parents. "I am suspicious and cannot trust other people and am easily humiliated because I couldn't trust my father or because my mother humiliated me when I was a child." That is a half-truth and all the more dangerous because it leaves out the only thing which is constructive, "what is the matter with me that keeps me from outgrowing these early injuries?"

A second and frequent way of avoiding responsibility is to feel, "It happened, I had no say in it." That may be said not only in the case of failure but also in the case of achievement. "It was just good luck." But what about our self-confidence if we don't give ourselves credit for achievement? Self-confidence is the basis for all we are doing.

A last evasion I would mention is a more sophisticated way—to put the blame on the unconscious. To say, "Well, I may prevaricate a bit, I may frustrate others but that is unconscious. You can't blame me for it." That is true enough but it isn't a question of blame, it is a question of fact. Am I prevaricating? Am I frustrating others? We often behave as if warding off the blame settled the matter, but it does not. Whether it is conscious or not, I have to bear the brunt of my unconscious forces and so I had better put my effort into becoming aware of them, thus being able to assume responsibility for them.

Now, this inability to assume responsibility for ourselves—what does it do to us?

First, it makes for plenty of irrational hostility against others.

Secondly, it alienates us from ourselves.

Thirdly, it prevents us from growing and from tapping all the resources we

actually have. And, with all of that, it prevents us from growing mature. In most simple terms, the inability to assume responsibility for ourselves is a lack of constructive toughness toward ourselves. It is not because we are too sensitive or too weak by nature but because of our neurosis. It is here that psychoanalysis comes in and where the educational work of the Auxiliary Council comes in. It is just as important to combat neurosis as it

is to combat cancer. We do not die from neurosis but it makes us weak and it robs us of the possibility of overcoming our egocentricity, of assuming responsibility for ourselves and with that the possibility of becoming mature and bringing order into a chaotic world.

Do not think it is up to the leaders only. It is not only the leaders, it is every single individual that counts!

## MATURITY and CULTURE

EDUARD C. LINDEMAN \*

IT seems to be desirable in a symposium of this type to state one's ideas in the form of propositions. A proposition is a belief which is held to be sound but requiring further exploration and validation.

A maturing person (I dislike to use the noun "maturity") is one who is capable of sustaining a realistic insight respecting himself and is capable of meeting the changes and ordeals of experience as opportunities for further learning and growth.

Using this definition as a point of departure, my first proposition may be stated thus: The maturing process of human beings may be thought of as a series of inter-connected planes, each projecting itself in greater or lesser volume and intensity, depending upon certain internal and external factors. These planes may be designated as physiological, emotional, intellectual, and social. These intercalated planes, when thought of as a whole, furnish a description of personality. In observing personality it becomes readily apparent that these planes are rarely synchronized. It is my belief that one of the chief causes of asymmetry is to be found in the person's responses to features of his social environment, that is, his culture.

Standards of maturity are relative to time and place, or in terms of our present discussion, relative to culture. We should not expect persons to mature in the same manner nor toward the same goals in any two distinct cultures. According to Toyn-

bee (*A Study of History*) the five great cultural systems which have survived and now exist in the contemporary world are:

1. The Orthodox Christian culture of Southeastern Europe and Russia,
2. The Islamic culture of North Africa, and Middle East and extending to the margins of China,
3. The Hindu culture limited to the sub-continent of India,
4. The Far East Culture which includes the arid zone and much of the Pacific Ocean, and
5. Western culture also called Christendom.

My main proposition is that for each of these cultures there will be varying criteria and standards of maturity. In order to understand these variations and differentials, one would need to state the value affirmations and aspirations for each cultural unit.

My third proposition rests upon the assumption that the United States constitutes a subdivision of Western culture and that the best descriptive term which combines its values is the word *Democracy*. Democracy is, in turn, a dynamic and changing concept which includes values and ideas assimilated from (a) Greek philosophy and practice (b) Hebraic morality (c) the Reformation and its consequence in religious pluralism (d) the Renaissance and its emphasis upon humanistic norms (e) the rationalistic logic derived from the

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scientific discipline originating in the 17th Century, and (f) the idealistic political and cultural ideals generated in the French and the American 18th Century Revolutions.

In order to bring our democratic culture into alignment with our technological civilization we need to bring cultural affairs to a much higher level of conscious and deliberate attention. I shall strive to do this by stating a number of democratic values or disciplines which seem to me to be appropriate standards to be applied to the growth of personality under democratic conditions. In stating these values I do not mean to imply that the older, non-empirical values such as equality, liberty, fraternity, dignity, justice, et cetera, are to be discarded; on the contrary, it is my belief that a more empirical set of values will give added strength to these traditional ideals. In any case, I suggest as a beginning that we explore such values as:

1. *Diversity*, or the belief that democratic strength inheres in pluralism and not in uniformity or totalitarianism. A person who is incapable of accepting religious, racial political, economical and psychological diversity is *per se* limited in his capacity to mature under democratic conditions.

2. *The Partial Functioning of Ideals* or the belief that the all-or-none principle cannot be applied to democratic affairs. Hence, a perfectionist, no matter how lofty his aims and ideals, cannot mature under democratic conditions.

3. *The Rule of Emotional Sanctions*, or the belief that decisions which must be taken when all the relevant facts are not available should be tested according to one's integrity of feeling. The person who abstains from decision-making because he is not in possession of all the relevant facts

will remain immature under democratic conditions.

4. *The Rule of Living with Decisions which go Against You*, or the belief that the majority principle furnishes a sound working basis for conducting human affairs. The minority person who withdraws or engages in sabotage when he is voted down is not a mature person under democratic conditions.

5. *The Rule of Approximate Compatibility between Means and Ends*, or the belief that failure to bring means and ends into approximate consonance defeats the democratic process at its roots. A person who expects good ends to result from undesirable means, cannot mature under democratic conditions.

These are, obviously, only a few selected illustrations of the democratic discipline. Others will occur to readers and I welcome collaborators in this enterprise. If we are to become articulate about our democratic culture, we must find new ways of teaching and testing our beliefs.

My final proposition may be stated thus: when the above disciplines and values are applied to individual conduct and are utilized as standards of maturity, it appears that a generalized aim or objective emerges. A mature person is one who strives for an efficiently functional relation with his co-workers and colleagues, a persistently affectionate relation with his intimates, a tolerantly non-contentious relation with those marginal members of a democratic society who may be said to be *in* it but not *of* it, and a militantly critical attitude toward those persons who are obstructionists, whose behavior impedes the continuous extension of democratic ideals and practices.



**[*Note to Contributors*]**

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